

CH'I HSIA SHAN (棲霞山) TEMPLE

JOURNAL

OF THE

NORTH CHINA BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR 1935



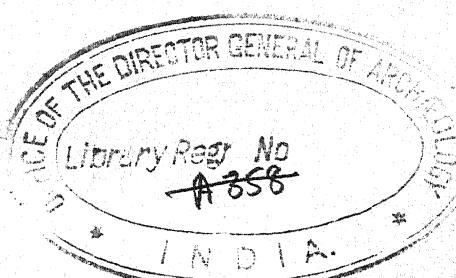
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VOLUME LXVI

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J. C. R. A. S.



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1935

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* At the meeting of the Council held on October 1st the resignation of Mr. A. D. Blackburn as president was presented and Mr. A. de C. Sowerby elected as acting president for the balance of the year.—*Ed.*

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1934-	Rev. EVAN MORGAN, D.D.
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¹ Mr. Isaac Mason states that for a short time Dr. Edkins acted as President, and for many years he was Vice-President, holding that office at the time of his death in 1905.



VOLUME LXVI, 1935.
EDITED BY ESSON M. GALE

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PROCEEDINGS

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The Annual Meeting of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was held in the Society's Hall, on Thursday, June 13, 1935, A. D. Blackburn, C.B.E., the President of the Society, being in the Chair. Reports were presented as follows:

The President's Report.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—The reports on the work of the various departments of the Society will be given to you by the Officers in charge of those departments, and as I do not want to cover the same ground as they do, it is only necessary for me to make a few general remarks.

We are justified, I think, in ending the year on a less despondent note than we commenced it. We have not, it is true, been able to deal with our financial difficulties in any fundamental way, but we have balanced our budget and are no longer going down the hill. This is in itself a considerable achievement in a time of financial stringency and one of which more important concerns than ours have found themselves incapable. Efforts to do something on a larger scale failed, and we were assured that it would be quite impossible for us to raise any substantial sums from the public at the present time.

We have been lucky enough to secure an unusually large number of interesting lectures, some of them by persons of outstanding eminence in their respective spheres. Most of them were well attended, and on three occasions the hall was filled to overflowing. Good lecturers are a gift from heaven and we cannot count on being equally fortunate every season.

The Library, Reading Room and Museum were well-used, but not as much as I should have liked. Mr. Sowerby and his assistants have done wonders with the Museum seeing that they have had no money to spend on it, but alas, the very fine natural history collection cannot be seen to advantage until it is housed in proper show cases instead of the present primitive glass-fronted boxes. A series of

Museum talks was given during the Spring and this is a feature which it is hoped to develop during the coming year. We are much indebted to the gentlemen who were responsible for these talks.

The question of widening the scope of the Society's activities is one which the Council has under consideration. Dr. Evan Morgan threw out certain suggestions in his parting remarks and these will be explored. They may not prove practical, but there are other schemes which the Council has in mind which may bear fruit during the coming year.

The Council meetings have been well attended, and in this connection I would like to pay a word of tribute to Dr. Evan Morgan, who has just left us on retiring to Europe after 34 years connection with the Society, during more than half of which he was on the Council. He has always been a great stand-by, and his scholarship has lent distinction to the Society. On his departure we elected him an honorary member of the Society—it may not be much of a distinction, but it is the best we have to offer. Dr. Sven Hedin was also elected an honorary member, taking the place of the late Professor Herbert Giles, whose lamented death is a serious loss to Sinology.

A. D. BLACKBURN,
President.

Report of the Hon. Librarian.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have the honour to present my second Annual Report as Honorary Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch. Routine work has progressed satisfactorily and the Library Assistants, Messrs. T. Y. Chao and C. Y. Fu have performed their duties efficiently.

The number of books issued during the year was 603 to 74 members. 2,865 persons used the Reading Room, both figures showing an increase over last year.

144 volumes in foreign languages and 137 volumes in Chinese have been presented to the Library during the year. A list of these appears in the Journal.¹ Special mention must be made of the gift of Dr. Morgan, "The Eumoropolous Collection of Chinese and Corean Bronzes," before his departure from Shanghai.

I am happy to record the recovery of two books given up as lost:

Andrews: "Across Mongolian Plains" (borrowed 1922)

Biot: "Le Tcheou Li" (, 1926)

The latter is very rare.

Our thanks are due to Dr. F. Ayscough for her loan of 508 valuable Chinese books to the Library.

The Assistant Librarians are continuing to revise and enlarge the Card Index System which will simplify reference to books on our shelves and they have completed an index to articles in the *China Journal* from Vol. I, 1923 to Vol. XX, 1934.

No books have been purchased but an appeal has been sent to 300 publishers all over the world asking for copies of their publications; so far there have been encouraging results from China and Japan.

¹ Cf. pages 140-149.

I regret very much the absence of Dr. F. Ayscough, Consulting Librarian, and wish to express to her appreciation for her kind help and guidance.

(MISS) A. ABRAHAM,
Hon. Librarian.

**Report of the Honorary Director of the Shanghai
Museum (R. A. S.) for the Year ending
May 31, 1935.**

The Shanghai Museum has continued its popularity during the past year, a steady stream of visitors passing through its doors.

Commencing in March, a series of popular lectures was arranged, one being given in the Museum each Wednesday afternoon by some one connected with the institution. They included four by the Honorary Director, Mr. A. de C. Sowerby, on a General Tour of the Museum, the Mammals of China, the Insects of China, and Fossils and What They Mean; one by Mr. E. S. Wilkinson, Honorary Keeper of Ornithology, on the Birds of China; one by Mr. H. E. Gibson, Honorary Keeper of Archaeology, on Ancient Chinese Coins; one by Mr. E. M. Buchanan on Snakes and Lizards; and one by Dr. Yuanting T. Chu, Honorary Keeper of Ichthyology, on Fishes. These proved very successful and were a considerable attraction to school children, both Chinese and foreign. Attendance fell away towards the end of April on account, it was believed, of the children's natural desire to get out-of-doors as the days grew longer. They were therefore discontinued in May, but will be resumed once more in the late autumn or early next winter, when it is hoped that schools in Shanghai will take advantage of the informative lectures offered and encourage their senior scholars to attend.

It has been suggested that catalogues and guides in both Chinese and English should be published and offered for sale in the Museum. This is an excellent idea, but would call for no little expenditure. Unfortunately, there seems to be no money whatsoever available for such purposes in connection with the Museum. Those interested, however, may be reminded that full description labels of many of the exhibits have been prepared and mounted in adjacent frames. Most of these have been translated into Chinese by Mr. C. Kliene, so that Chinese visitors who know no English may benefit.

It is still too soon to publish either catalogues or a guide, for the very good reason that the Museum's collections are still being added to, and changes in the disposition of the cases are constantly having to be made. During the past twelve months the Museum has received a number of handsome donations.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

The collection of Porcelains, Tomb Figures, Ancient Bronzes and other objects of archaeological interest which was placed on loan in the Museum at its opening on November 15, 1933, by the then Honorary Keeper of Archaeology, Mr. Harold Porter, C.M.G., has now been donated to the Museum and incorporated into its collections. The collection includes:

Thirty perfect specimens of ceramic ware in the form of bowls, dishes, saucers, cups and small pots of the T'ang, Sung, Ming and Ch'ing periods, as well as fragments of the famous Chun Yao ware, so popular with Chinese collections.

Eight Tomb figures of the T'ang period.

Ten small pottery tomb figures, human and animal, of various early periods.

A glazed tomb set of the Ming period including a magistrate's sedan chair, judgment table, travelling trunk, bath and four attendants carrying books and other official requisites.

A horse's head in stone of the Han period.

Fourteen handsome bronze and other alloy mirrors of periods from the Ch'in to the T'ang.

Five ancient bronze bells.

Six ancient bronze belt buckles.

Four bronze tokens in the form of fish.

Two Wang Mang *p'u* coins.

A bronze sauce bowl.

A flat hinged case in bronze of unique design.

Several other early bronze objects, uses unknown.

A Han Dynasty brick showing an angel riding on a fabulous monster like a *chi-lin*.

A stone memorial tablet with an epitaph cut in beautiful characters.

A baked clay model of a stove from a Han Dynasty tomb.

NUMISMATICS DEPARTMENT.

Mr. K. P. Chang, Manager of the Min Hwa Savings Bank, presented the Museum with a fine collection of ancient Chinese cash, *p'u*, knife and spade coins numbering nearly a thousand. These have been mounted by Mr. H. E. Gibson, Honorary Keeper of Archaeology, and, filling many gaps, have made our collection of these types of coin now fairly complete. Mr. Ake Hartman of Shanghai has donated a one tael silver shoe, or sycee, the old form of currency in China. A tael or *liang* is a Chinese ounce of silver.

While on the subject of coins, it may be noted that at its Annual Meeting, held on June 11, the Numismatic Society of China formally adopted a programme of taking a special interest in the Museum's collection of coins rather than starting a collection of its own.

BOTANICAL DEPARTMENT.

This department, which, it must be admitted, is not very extensive as yet, received an interesting addition in the form of an exhibit from a Malayan rubber estate through the kindness and generosity of Messrs. J. A. Wattie and Company, of Shanghai. It consists of

Four bottles containing seeds of the para rubber tree.

Two bottles containing preserved specimens of the leaves, branches, etc. of the para rubber tree.

A piece of the trunk of a para rubber tree.

Six samples of raw rubber in various forms, such as crepe, smoked sheet, etc.

Three samples of the tapping knives used on the rubber estates.

This exhibit should be of some interest to the members of the Shanghai community on account of their interest in rubber company shares and the rubber industry and market generally.

ZOOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

A number of valuable specimens have been received in this department during the past year as follows:

Mammology: A complete skin and skull of a full-grown male of the Tibetan takin (*Budorcas thibetanus* M.-Edw.), shot by Mr. Quentin Young in the Wassu country, Western Szechuan, and donated by him and his brother Mr. Jack T. Young. This is a really magnificent specimen, and the first so far received by the Museum of this rare and interesting inhabitant of the high mountainous regions along the Chinese-Tibetan borders. It is being mounted, and will form a first class exhibit when ready.

Mr. Jack T. Young has also presented the Museum with the skull of a Tibetan black bear (*Selenarctos thibetanus mupinensis* Heude).

Two specimens, an adult female (skeleton only) and an immature male of the Chinese blue sheep or barbel (*Pseudois nauroo szechuanensis* Rothschild) have been received from Mr. Floyd Tangier Smith, well known explorer. He has also donated a complete specimen of the little West China tufted deer (*Elaphodus cephalophorus*, M.-Edw.), which has already been mounted, as well as the skull and horns of the goa or Tibetan gazelle (*Gazella picticaudata*, Hodgson). Two specimens of a very rare deer were presented to the Museum by Mr. E. H. Clayton of Hangchow. This is the crested muntjac (*Muntiacus crinifrons*, Sclater), originally described in 1885 from the Ningpo area in Chekiang Province, and since then completely lost sight of till recently. One of our specimens is the first female of this species so far to be found in any museum in the world, while besides the two in our collection there are only two others, both males, in existence, one in the British Museum (Natural History Museum, South Kensington) and the other in the American Museum of Natural History, New York. A fifth specimen secured some years ago by Styan has been lost sight of.

Ornithology: Mrs. H. E. Gibson has presented the Museum with an interesting specimen of a Chinese green-fin (Chloris sinica, L.) which is in the process of assuming white plumage. The same lady also donated a beautiful specimen of one of the more brightly coloured tropical parakeets.

Two fine male specimens of the Eastern great-bustard (*Otis tarda dybowskii*, Taczanowski) and a male pintailed sand-grouse (*Syrrhaptes paradoxus* Pallas) were presented by the Reverend Geo. D. Wilder and Mr. Wang Pao Ch'uan, a Chinese hunter and taxidermist of Tung Hsien, Hopei. One of the bustards has been mounted in the act of displaying its fine plumage before the female. It makes a very spectacular exhibit.

Mr. Floyd Tangier Smith has donated a specimen of the lammergeier, or bearded vulture (*Gypaetus barbatus grandis*, Storr), from the Tibetan border region, as well as a Chinese blood-pheasant (*Ithaginis geoffroyi* Verreaux) from the same region, both very acceptable and not previously represented in our collection.

The Museum has also received a male pochard (*Nyroca ferina* L) and a male black-necked grebe (*Podiceps nigricollis*, Brehm). A complete specimen of the fossilized egg of the prehistoric ostrich (*Struthiolithus chersonensis*) of Central Asia, which ranged into China at the time when the loess formations were being laid down in the north and north-west, has been placed on exhibition in the Museum by Mr. A. T. Steele of Shanghai.

Herpetology: Mr. E. M. Buchanan has been busy during the year classifying and cataloguing the reptiles and amphibians in the Museum's herpetological collections. This work is greatly handicapped by the lack of glass receptacles and exhibition bottles. These are expensive and at present we cannot afford to purchase what we so badly need in this direction.

Ichthyology: This is a section in which the Museum's collections are by no means what they should be. Dr. Yuanting T. Chu, Honorary Keeper of Ichthyology in the Museum, is now engaged on classifying the specimens we have. The same difficulty in regard to separate receptacles and exhibition bottles as exists with the reptiles and amphibians is experienced in connection with the fishes, which cannot be exhibited properly without such bottles.

Entomology: The Museum has been very fortunate in securing the voluntary services of Mr. S. Josefson-Bernier, an authority on insects, in the overhauling and rearranging of its entomological collections. New and better displays of butterflies and moths have been made, while Mr. Josefson-Bernier is now working on the beetles. This, of course, is a slow and tedious task, and it will of necessity take some time to complete. Mr. Josefson-Bernier has expressed his intention of filling in the gaps in our collection of *Lepidoptera* (butterflies and moths) as far as possible from his own collections.

Conchology: The Honorary Keeper of Conchology, Mr. Yen Teng-chien, has named and classified, as far as the available data will permit, all the specimens of marine fresh-water and land shells in the Museum's collection. No new specimens in this group have been received.

PALAEONTOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

A very attractive and interesting donation to the Museum is the Diorama prepared and presented by Mr. D. W. Wagstaff, showing a restoration of the now famous "Peking Man," or *Sinanthropus pekinensis* Black, in what the artist considered to be his natural setting. In this is seen a male of this strange prehistoric hominid outside a cave in the act of hurling a stone at a sabre-toothed tiger, while his mate is just issuing from the mouth of the cave. Above is a rocky cliff and in the distance low hills, a wide plain and the sea.

This exhibit is enhanced in interest by a presentation from the Government Geological Survey in Peiping of a life size facsimile of the original cranium or skull case of "Peking Man" found by Mr. W. C. Pei in the Chou Kou Tien cave site near Peiping. This has been placed on exhibition in a small case lined with mirrors so that every part of the cranium may be seen by the visitors. On either side of it are the skulls of a modern Tibetan and a modern Chinese for purposes of comparison. Full details and illustrations of the remains of Peking Man so far discovered are given in frames on either side of the Diorama. This makes an extremely interesting and instructive group.

This department has further been enriched by a collection of fossils presented by Mr. T. E. MacBain of Shanghai.

A Chinese screen showing the section of a fossil cephalopod has been received from the Reverend E. C. Lobenstien. This is known to the Chinese as the Pagoda Stone.

GEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

A small collection of minerals has been received from the British Museum. These are of unusual interest in that they are from the original collection of James Sowerby, the author of *British Mineralogy*. 5 Volumes, published in the years 1804 to 1817, which was one of the first works on the subject ever published and for long remained the standard. It was illustrated by the author from specimens in his collection, now, alas, more or less scattered.

Mr. T. E. MacBain has also donated a collection of minerals to the Museum.

Mr. P. D. Raeburn has presented a glass phial containing a series of examples of the ash and volcanic dust which fell during the great eruption of Mount Vesuvius in April, 1906.

TAXIDERMIST'S SHOP.

Before bringing this report to a close I would like to make special mention of the work being done by the Museum's staff in the Taxidermist's Shop, the proceeds from which go far towards meeting the necessary expenses involved in maintaining the Museum. Work is undertaken here for people outside, such as stuffing and mounting birds, mounting heads of big game animals and tanning skins to make rugs. We have had through our hands during the past year the skins of lions, tigers, bears, leopards and the like, all of which call for a great deal of hard work on the part of our staff members.

Recently we have been asked by the Heude Museum to skin, preserve and mount an elephant which was received just after it had died. This is an undertaking that might well daunt the most expert and experienced taxidermist, yet Mr. Tang, our chief assistant, has commenced on the work without hesitation.

We have had to revise our charges, which have not been changed since they were originally listed some twenty years ago. It is hoped that Shanghai residents will take advantage of the opportunities we offer to have first class taxidermy done at extraordinarily reasonable charges. They are as follows:

For stuffing and mounting.

Finch, Sparrow, Warbler, etc.	\$ 1.00-\$ 2.00	On Stands only. If desired, these can be mounted in glass cases, with plain backgrounds, or with natural surroundings and painted backgrounds, at charges commensurate with the work done.
Thrush, Shrike, Snipe, Sandpiper, etc.	\$ 1.25-\$ 2.50	
Dove, Jay, Woodpecker, Plover, etc.	\$ 1.50-\$ 3.50	
Small Hawk, Crow, Small Pond Heron, Woodcock, etc.	\$ 1.75-\$ 3.00	
Teal, Owl, Grebe, Rat, Mole, etc.	\$ 2.00-\$ 4.00	
Large Hawk, Pheasant, Duck, Curlew, Gull, Large Heron, etc.	\$ 3.00-\$ 5.00	
Eagle, Cormorant, Eagle-Owl, Goose, Crane, Pelican, Squirrel, Stoat, Weasel, etc.	\$ 5.00-\$ 7.50	
Wild Cat, Fox, Badger, Porcupine, etc.	\$10.00-\$15.00	
Deer, Wild Boar, Monkeys, etc.	\$20.00-\$50.00	(According to Size)
Head only on Board	\$10.00-\$30.00	(According to Size)
Tanning skins from	\$20.00-\$50.00	(According to Size)

ARTHUR DE C. SOWERBY,
Hon. Director.

Report of the Editor of the Journal

To the President: I may assure you, Sir, to begin with, that an ever-widening interest continues to be displayed in the publications appearing in the *Journal* of the Society. This is manifested firstly in the variety of contributions offered by scholars and investigators

from many fields and many lands; and secondly by the demand for current and previous numbers of the *Journal* by way of exchanges with scientific societies throughout the world.

In regard to contributions, during the three years (1933, 1934 and 1935) wherein the present Editor has been responsible for the publication of the *Journal*, now in its 77th consecutive year, some twenty three major articles have appeared with a further six now in the press for the current year's number. Contributions have been from six nationalities, viz., British (5), Chinese (8), American (10), Japanese (2), German (2), French (1) and Swedish (1). This does not include the writers of numerous book reviews and sinological notes; some of these have proved to be substantial contributions to various subjects. The majority of the articles continue to be papers read before the Council; some, however, are published as received from writers, not visitors or in residence at Shanghai, and hence not read before the Society. Several articles offered have not been found suitable for the purposes of this *Journal*: but in such cases cooperation has been offered whereby a place for such contributions has been found in other publications. Thus for example a valuable paper on leprosy in China sent in by Dr. Lee S. Huizinga, of Jukao, Kiangsu, was ultimately, through the good offices of Dr. Wu Lien-teh, included in the annual *Report* of the National Quarantine Service.

The question of the type of material published in the *Journal* has been acutely raised by at least one member whose conception of the *Journal* is that it should provide a greater variety of interest in a perhaps more popular and attractive form. This may doubtless be desirable from the point of view of some general readers. Publications of the type of the National Geographic Magazine (Washington, D. C.) have been cited as indicating a form of *Journal* which would have a more popular appeal. It does not however appear feasible to make any fundamental change in the traditional scientific type of the *Journal* of this Society for a number of capital reasons. To begin with, neither the editing nor contributions are paid for. This materially restricts the type of articles published. To embark upon a glazed-paper, profusely illustrated "Magazine" is beyond the editorial or financial potentialities of the Society at the present moment. Basicly, moreover, the *Journal* limits itself to placing in printed form in the hands of the members the "proceedings" of the Society throughout the year,—lectures, financial position, annual meeting, reviews of books received, list of members, and the like. Members of the Society may in fact look to an increasing number of other publications in China or abroad which by means of feature articles, profuse illustrations, and other current journalistic methods, combine a larger element of entertainment, rather than providing, as this *Journal* does, a permanent record of scholarly and scientific research "on matters connected with the languages, archaeology, history, beliefs and customs" of China, as the rules of the Society prescribe.

That the *Journal* is playing an important rôle, in which the members of the Society may take pride, is further evidenced by the persistent demand for exchanges from every part of the scientific world. This demand has grown recently to the extent that only a few of the 1934 volumes (No. LXV) are left, while in the past

considerable numbers of the annual publication have remained on the hands of the Society. Even these earlier volumes, however, are being called for by libraries, museums and learned societies in the growing recognition of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch*, as a rich depository of authentic material relating to every aspect of Sinology.

ESSON M. GALE,
Editor of the Journal.

Report of the Honorary Treasurer.

The financial statement shown on pages xv to xviii was presented as audited and was by vote of the meeting passed.

The Honorary Secretary's Report.

The Society has made progress during the year. Members will not have forgotten the discouraging situation presented in the report of the Secretary a year ago. The current year has shown improvement. Much remains to be done, however.

Lectures.—Great credit is due to the President of the Society, A. D. Blackburn, C.B.E., in connection with the brilliant series of lectures of the year. These were sixteen in all, a list of which appears elsewhere. Those who are familiar with the history of the Society testify to an increasing attendance and interest.

Museum Talks.—A new departure has been a series of eight museum talks intended for small groups including children. Each talk dealt with some special feature of the museum exhibits. These talks have proved a success and will be continued next year.

Public Receptions.—A second new departure has been the giving of receptions, the first to the members of the Commission for the Selection of Art Objects for the London Exhibition, and the second, to Dr. and Mrs. Evan Morgan on their retirement. It is a proper function of such a Society to give public recognition to persons whose work in the field covered by the Society merits it. This new departure has the further advantage of humanizing the Society and giving its members an opportunity to meet each other and to come into more informal contact with leading Sinologues.

New Members.—The chief advance made during the year is the 212 new members who have joined the Society, as compared with 722 at the end of the last year. These are largely resident in Shanghai. This increase is due to the interest taken by the present members of the Society in suggesting the names of others qualified for membership. The net increase for the year is 158, and the total membership of the Society is now 880. It should reach 1000 this next year.

Finance.—A year ago the annual reports indicated that the Society was running behind on its current accounts to a serious degree, and had increased its overdraft by \$10,000. This situation has been the most serious problem before the officers and the Council during the current year. The overdraft is now \$58,000.

New Financial Policy.—To meet this crisis a financial policy has been adopted as follows:

1. A sufficient portion of the building should be rented so that the income from the building should carry the interest on the building fund overdraft. This has been done. The overdraft has not been increased this year.

2. A sufficient number of new members should be obtained to balance the working budget of the Society. This has been done.

3. Half of the funds received from life members should be invested as a reserve fund, the interest on which should suffice to send the *Journal* to such members for such years as may be necessary. Debentures of the Shanghai Power Company to the extent of \$1,000 have been added to the investments.

4. An appeal should be made to the public and to interested individuals and institutions to help clear the building fund deficit. This remains as a critical problem.

A Balanced Budget.—The Society comes before the public this year with a balanced budget. It should be pointed out that this is on a minimum basis, no provision being made for purchase of new books, subscriptions to needed periodicals, and necessary repairs and improvements. The situation will continue unsatisfactory until the overdraft is cleared. The help of the public is requested.

The Treasurer.—The Society and its members ordinarily take for granted the generous good offices of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation which carries out all of the financial transactions of the Society as a matter of public service. The treasurer for a number of years has been F. B. Winter, Esq., who rendered special service in connection with the erection of the new building. He has now gone on leave and has been succeeded by A. C. Leith, Esq.

Plans for the Coming Year.—The Council has in mind certain extensions of the usefulness of the Society during the coming year in addition to its usual activities and the new features which have been inaugurated during the year past. The first of these will be two art exhibits, one to be a loan exhibit of a private collection in Shanghai. For the other it is proposed to hold an exhibit of paintings of living Chinese artists who paint in Chinese style. An exhibit of this sort was recently held in London and was a great success.

Service to Schools.—The second extension of the service of the Society which is being considered is that of the integration of the museum with the work of the schools in the Settlement, and later to Shanghai as a whole. This has already been discussed with the officer in charge of education for Chinese. Such relationships exist in many cities in the West, and the museum can be a supplementary agency of great value to the work of the schools.

Shanghai as a Cultural Centre.—The response of members of the Society in proposing new members has been very heartening. All who know the situation feel that in a city of three million people there is still a large number of persons who are qualified for membership and interested in the work of the Society who have not become members. The membership of the Society should show a large increase during the next year or two. This is indeed a necessity if the Society is to function effectively.

Most persons think of Shanghai merely as a commercial center, and do not realize the extent to which it has already become a cultural center nor the strength of the trends which are making it more and more of a center of culture and learning each year. Shanghai residents can justly take pride in this aspect of the city. There are approximately one thousand schools, of which twenty are colleges and universities. There are said to be two hundred collections of art objects of high quality. There are a considerable number of research institutes and learned and cultural societies in connection with different governmental agencies and groups of nationals. This Society is the foremost learned Society on an international basis. It provides a platform for the bringing together of the English speaking members, which are no inconsiderable proportion, of learned societies and educational and research agencies of whatever auspices or nationality. This gives the Society great significance and responsibility in an international city of this sort. It has a large part to play in the further development of Shanghai as a cultural centre.

E. H. CRESSY,
Hon. Secretary.

List of Lectures delivered in the Hall of the Society are as follows:—

1934 November 15	Dr. Esson M. Gale—"Chinese Histories and Historians of the Past Three Millenniums."
22	Mr. Jack T. Young—"Exploration on the Tibetan Border" illustrated with Films (Projection by courtesy of the Eastman Kodak Company).
December 6	Rev. Thomas Torrance, F.R.G.S.—"The <i>Ch'iang</i> Tribes of Western Szechuan."
13	Mr. Lin Yu-tang—"The Spirit and Inner Technique of Chinese Poetry."
20	Dr. H. Chatley, D.Sc.—"The Romance of the Calendar."
1935 January 16	Dr. V. K. Ting—"Climatic Records and the Supposed Dессification of North-West China."
24	Mr. G. Findlay Andrew—"Men and Matters in the Land of the Yellow Earth."
28	Professor William F. Bade—"Excavating a Buried City of Palestine" (Illustrated with Slides).
February 14	Dr. Osvald Sirén—"How the Chinese Look upon the Art of Painting."
18	Dr. Sven Hedin—"The Chinese Government Expedition to Sinkiang, 1933-35."
March 7	Dr. H. F. MacNair—"The Cruise of the Caroline, Canton to the N.W. Coast of America and Return, January to September 1799."
21	Professor Bernard E. Read—"The Chemistry of Ancient Chinese Medicine" (Illustrated by Slides).
April 18	Mrs. Florence Ayscough, D.LITT.—"Court Life in the T'ang Dynasty as illustrated by the Poems of Tu Fu" (Illustrated by Slides).
May 8	Rev. Karl L. Reichelt—"Glimpses from the Realm of Buddhism."
23	Cinematographic films taken by Dr. Wilhelm Filchner of his journeys in Russia, Sinkiang, Kansu, Tibet and India were shown in the Hall.

TEA PARTY

1935 March 28 (from 5 to 6.30 p.m.)
 To meet the Members of the Commission for the selection
 of art objects for the London Exhibition:
 Sir Percival David,
 Mr. G. Emoropoulos,
 Mr. R. L. Hobson,
 Professor Pelliot, and
 Mr. O. Raphael.

May 30 (from 5 to 6.30 p.m.)
 Farewell to Dr. and Mrs. Evan Morgan.

MUSEUM TALKS.

1935 March 6 A. de C. Sowerby—General View of Museum.
 13 A. de C. Sowerby—Mammals in the Museum.
 20 H. E. Gibson—Chinese Coins.
 27 E. S. Wilkinson—Some Chinese Birds.

April 3 A. de C. Sowerby—Fossils and What They Tell Us.
 10 E. M. Buchanan—Snakes and Lizards.
 17 S. Josefson-Bernier—Butterflies and Moths.*
 24 Dr. Yuanting T. Chu—Chinese Fishes.

* Mr. S. Josefson-Bernier was unavoidably prevented from giving his *talk*, his place being taken by Mr. A. de C. Sowerby, who gave a general talk on Insects.

Election of Officers.

The following officers and Members of the Council were elected to serve during 1935-36:

President	A. D. Blackburn, Esq., C.B.E.
Vice-Presidents	A. de C. Sowerby, Esq., F.Z.S., F.R.G.S.
Hon. Director of Museum	R. D. Abraham, Esq.
Hon. Keeper of Archaeology	A. de C. Sowerby, Esq., F.Z.S., F.R.G.S.
Hon. Keeper of Conchology	H. E. Gibson, Esq.
Hon. Keeper of Ichthyology	Teng-Chien Yen, Esq.
Hon. Keeper of Ornithology	Yuanting T. Chu, Esq.
Honorary Librarian	E. S. Wilkinson, Esq.
Honorary Treasurer	Miss A. Abraham
Editor of Journal	A. C. Leith, Esq.
Councillors	Dr. Esson M. Gale, M.A., PH.D. (LEYDEN)
	Sir J. F. Brennan, K.C.M.G.
	Dr. H. Chatley, D.Sc. (LOND.)
	Ch. Grosbois, Esq., M.A.
	A. J. Hughes, Esq.
	J. R. Jones, Esq., M.A.
	C. Kliene, Esq.
	Dr. J. Usang Ly.
	Rev. F. L. Hawks Pott, D.D.
	Dr. C. T. Wang, PH.D.
	W. H. Way, Esq.
	G. L. Wilson, Esq., F.S.I.
	Dr. Wu Lien-teh, M.A., M.D. (CANTAB.)
Honorary Secretary	Rev. E. H. Cressy, B.D.

Hon. Keeper of Herpetology E. M. Buchanan, Esq.
 Hon. Keeper of Entomology S. Josefson-Bernier, Esq.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the President and the officers of the Society.

LIST OF NEW MEMBERS—JUNE 1934 TO MAY 1935.

Abraham, D. E. J.	Grant, Dr. J.	Lieu, Lindsay
Adrianoff, N. W.	Gawler, G. N.	Liu, H. S.
Ainger, Major E.	Givens, T. P.	Lobenstine, Rev. E. C.
Andrew, G. F.	Germain, T. C.	Ling, Dr. D. G.
Allan, Dr. David J.	Gibb, Mrs. J. McGregor	Lousain, A. J. R.
Baker, J. E.	Green, Mrs. D. Lyman	Loewenberg, Dr. R. D.
Barker, Prof. A. F.	Graffenried, E. de	Louis, Jacot-Guillarmod
Barker, K. C.	Ha, Harris	Matsumoto, S.
Bassett, Major A.	Hamill, Alfred E.	Mar, Dr. Peter
Bates, J. A. E. Sanders-	Hamano, Makoto	Masson, J. R.
Behbenin, V. S.	Han, Dr. Y. S.	McCarthy, G. J.
Bartley, H. S.	Handley-Derry, L.	McHugh, Capt. J. M.
Behrens, I.	Hartl, Joseph	McLorn, D.
Bixby, H. M.	Hatano, Y.	Meng, Prof. Hsien-chen
Block, M. S.	Haughwout, F. G.	Mian Way-Kaung
Boland, Capt. B.	Haughwout, Mrs. F. G.	Moorad, George
Bowen, F. A.	Hedin, Dr. Sven (<i>Hon.</i>)	Morley, A.
Brind, B.	Helmick, Judge Milton J.	Newell, Mrs. Isaac
Brockman, W. W.	Ho, T. K.	Nimitz, Capt. C. W.
Bruder, Mrs. F. F.	Hoibert, Mrs. A. T.	Nyholm, F.
Brown, Rev. J. L.	Holt, Dr. I. L.	Onley, Rev. F. G.
Butt, D. M.	Hosken, Mrs. Wm. H.	O'Bolger, R. E.
Calder, A. Bland	Hou, Dr. Hsiang-Ch'uan	Osborne, Mrs. Katherine
Carpenter, P. S. P.	Hough, Frank L.	Pai, Dr. Sitsan
Carvalho, Dr. A. de	Hough, Mrs. F. L.	Person, K. A.
Chardin, Père T. de	Hoyt, Mrs. Lansing	Pfanner, Pierrre
Chambers, Mrs. R. E.	Hu, Stephen M. K.	Platt, B. S.
Chien Soo-chun, Miss	Hwang, Prof. K. C.	Porter, J. V.
Chow Yao	India Office, Superintendent	Porter, Mrs. C. W.
Chiao Tung University	Jager, A. G. de	Porter, A. R.
Chu, Yuanting T.	Jolly, J. Keith,	Pott, James H.
Chu, Dr. Tso-chih	Joseph, Ellis	Poulsen, H. S.
Chun, Dr. J. W. H.	Joseph, R. M.	Rakusen, Dr. C. P.
Cleland, H. R.	Johnstone, Mrs. K. W.	Reid, Miss S. H.
Conrad, H.	Josefsen-Bernier, S.	Roescheisen, Dr. H.
Contag, Dr. Victoria	Kadoorie, Horace	Roberts, Mrs. F. M.
Cousins, L. G.	Keen, Mrs. E.	Roe, F. H.
Crisler, C. C.	Keen, R. D.	Rohrke, H.
Dickson, A. L.	Ki Chun	Sadwin, Mrs. A.
Delhaye, L. G.	Kilborn, Dr. L. G.	Santelli, Dr. R.
Dobrovolsky, S.	King, Cheyuan Foon	Sassoon, Sir Victor
Doodha, N. B.	Kozoolin, P. J.	Scholey, Jr., Mrs. G. G.
Dorrance, A. A.	Kops, Paul F.	Squires, R. W.
Douthirt, Mrs. J. B.	Krysinski, Dr. J.	Shinjo, Dr. Shinzo,
Dunn, Dr. T. B.	Kellner, E. G.	Shahmoon, A. E.
Ecke, Dr. Gustav	Khaw, Dr. O. K.	Shiro, J. A.
Eisler, Capt. W. I.	Kimura, Dr. Shigeru	Skinner, T. V. S.
Ermiloff, P.	Kelsey, H. F.	Soong, Dr. T. F.
Ezra, Moise	Kimura, Dr. K.	Sokobin, S.
Falck, Miss Elizabeth	Kobelt, A.	Speelman, M.
Feldman, M. M.	Komiya, Yoshitaka.	Smith, Mis Viola
Filsinger, E.	Liu, Yu-wen	Stockwell, R. K.
Forbes, Miss M.	Leith, A. C.	Strehlneek, E. A.
Forde, F. H.	Leamer, Dr. Bruce V.	Stranack, M. W.
Franklin, C. S.	Lee, Dr. Y. Y.	Summerfield, J. A. A.
Fryer, C. H.	Lenz, Dr. G. Jahn-	Smith, D. H.
	Levi-Schiff di Suvero, M.	
	Levy, S. E.	
	Lewis, Robert E.	

PROCEEDINGS

Telberg, V. G.	Tung, Yuh Mou	Woo Yao-Tchi
Tai, Dr. T. C.	Tong Pao-Shu	Wu, Stephen
Tchang Si, Dr.	Thackeray, Brigadier F. S.	Wilson, D. A.
Tan, Mrs. W. H.	Thackeray, Mrs. F. S.	Woodhead, H. G. W.
Taylor, G. E.	Tellefsen, E. S.	Wu, Chenfu F.
Tebbs, J. A.	Tseng, T. K.	Wu, Mayor Te-chen
Tomita, Dr. Gunji	University of Rangoon	Yen, Teng Chien
Ting, K. T.		Yeo, Yuson
Toeg, Mrs. S. E.	Van Os, A. P.	Young, C. E.
Toeg, I. A.		Yui, O. K.
Tolly, Lieut.	Wang, Mrs. T. C.	Young, Miss M. L.
Tsao, Dr. Y. H.	Wang Chi-yung	Zee Zai Ziang
Touty, M. H.	Wheeler, W. R.	
Tsu, Mrs. Lan-Tsung,	Webster, Rev. James	
Tsu, Dr. P. N.	Whitgob, E. J.	
Tsu, Dr. Y. Y.		

RESIGNATIONS.

Ambrose, F. W.	Gardner, H. G.	Pagh, E. K.
Andersson, Dr. J. G.		Poullain, H. V.
Arnold, H. H.		
Bennett, Capt. N. R.	Hamilton, Dr. A. Isabel	Rispaud, Capt. J. H. J.
Bosworth, Miss S. M.	Hammond, Miss Louise S.	
Buchler, W.	Harris, Frank A.	Shen, Wesley
Burnie, C. M. G.	Hobden, H.	Six, Rev. Ray L.
Byerly, Miss A. R.		Stockton, G. C.
Chu Pei-hao	Johnson, B. C. M.	
Cleveland, Mrs. F. A.	Li Ting An, Dr.	Thomas, Ivor
Costenoble, H.	Lieu, Dr. D. K.	Toller, W. Stark
Crokam, W. G.	Liu, Dr. Herman C. E.	
Danton, Prof. G. H.	Madsen, W.	Wang, Chung-Yu
Darroch, Rev. J.	Maxwell, Dr. J. Preston	Wei, Lott H. T.
Finch, A. B.	McCabe, P. J.	Wiley, J. Hundley
Fraser, D.	McGillivray, Mrs. D.	
	Miskin, Stanley, C.	Yamada, K.
	Moninger, Miss M. M.	

DEATHS.

Giles, Prof. Herbert Allen	Kern, D. S.	March, B. F.
Fraser, M. F. A.	Lauderdale, T.	Smith, J. Langford
Hiron, C. J.	Laurenz, Mrs. Rudolf	Soothill, Prof. W. E.
	Laufer, Dr. Berthold	
		Wilkinson, H. P.

MEMBERSHIP:*

New Members	..	..	..	..	218
Resignations and deaths, etc.	..	..	..	..	88
The net increase	..	..	..	..	130

* See page 150 for classified Summary of total membership of 852.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, NORTH CHINA BRANCH
 BALANCE SHEET AS AT 30TH MAY, 1935. WORKING ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
To Balance 30th May, 1934	\$ 2,057.81
Subscriptions—			
Life	\$1,730.00
Annual	5,963.56
			<u>7,693.56</u>
Interest on Debentures—			
S. M. C. Co.	\$ 100.70
Shanghai Power Co.	25.16
Shanghai Waterworks Co.	67.14
Mackenzie & Co., Ltd.	58.74
			<u>251.74</u>
Interest on Current Account	26.94
S. M. C. Grants	7,000.00
Hire of Hall	150.00
Museum	43.00
Rental—			
China Journal	\$1,678.32
S. Osborn & Co., Ltd.	400.00
			<u>2,078.32</u>
Sale of Journals	1,016.16
PROCEEDINGS			
Rates and Taxes	
Land Tax	
Water	
Electricity	
Coal and Firewood	
Wages—			
Librarian	
Taxidermist	
Liftman	
Furnaceeman	
			<u>341.85</u>
Advertising—			
North China Daily News	\$ 313.60
China Press	201.60
Evening Post and Mercury	56.70
Shanghai Times	62.48
			<u>634.38</u>
Subscriptions—			
Kokka Publishing Co.	\$ 42.88
China Digest	10.00
China Recorder	5.00
China Journal	12.50
			<u>70.38</u>

PROCEEDINGS

Maintenance of Lift ..	..	..	..	..	297.01
Printing ..	..	..	..	..	2,024.63
Postage ..	..	..	..	..	197.53
Insurance ..	..	..	..	..	483.85
Sundries ..	..	..	..	..	165.00
Commission & Transportation D. J. Wolff, etc. ..	..	..	..	..	222.36
Refund Hire of Hall ..	..	..	..	..	20.00
Overpaid Subscriptions ..	..	..	..	..	19.61
Transferred to Building Account ..	..	..	..	..	3,939.31
Purchase of \$1,000 Shanghai Power Co. Debentures ..	..	..	..	..	818.58
Balance 30th May, 1935 ..	..	..	..	..	1,632.22
\$20,317.53					\$20,317.53

Audited and found correct.

G. W. STEWART,
Shanghai, 30th May, 1935.

A. C. LEITH,

Hon. Treasurer,
Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, NORTH CHINA BRANCH
BALANCE SHEET AS AT 30TH MAY, 1935. BUILDING FUND ACCOUNT.

PROCEEDINGS

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
To	Donations	\$ 1,127.50	Debit Balance 30th May, 1934
Transferred from R.A.S. Working a/c, ..	..	..	.. \$58,755.41
Debit Balance 30th May, 1935 ..	..	..	.. 746.00
		..	.. 3,939.31
			\$63,440.72
Audited and found correct.			
G. W. STEWART, Shanghai, 30th May, 1935.			
A. C. LEITH, Hon. Treasurer, Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch.			

Audited and found correct.

G. W. STEWART,
Shanghai, 30th May, 1935.

A. C. LEITH,
Hon. Treasurer,
Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch.

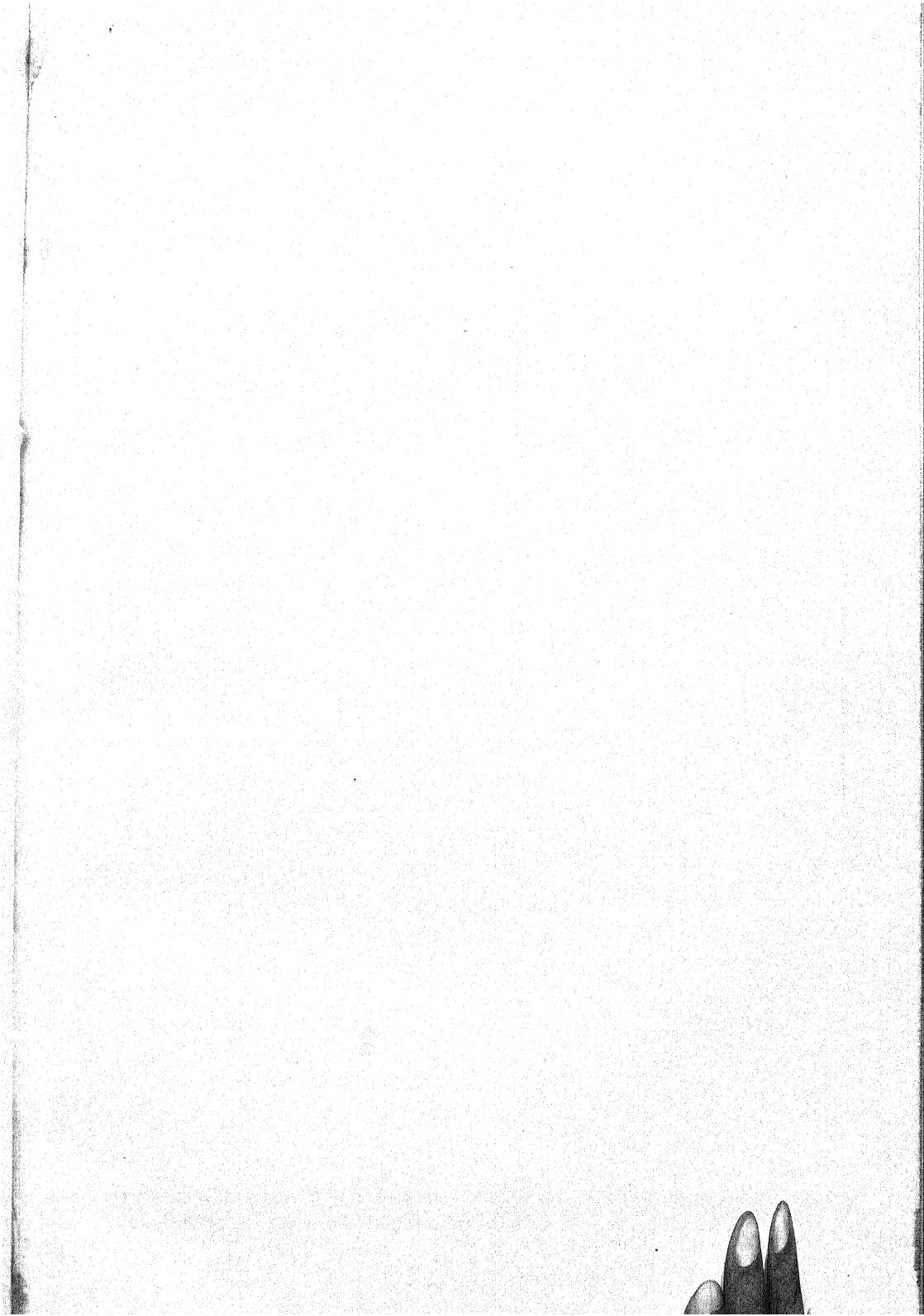
<i>Donations to the Building Fund from 31st May, 1934, to 30th May, 1935.</i>							
Morgan, Evan ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	\$ 300.00
Abraham, R. D.	..	..	..	..	..	..	300.00
Kwang Hsueh Publishing House ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	137.50
Joseph, S. M. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10.00
Palmer & Turner ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	380.00
							<hr/> \$1,127.50

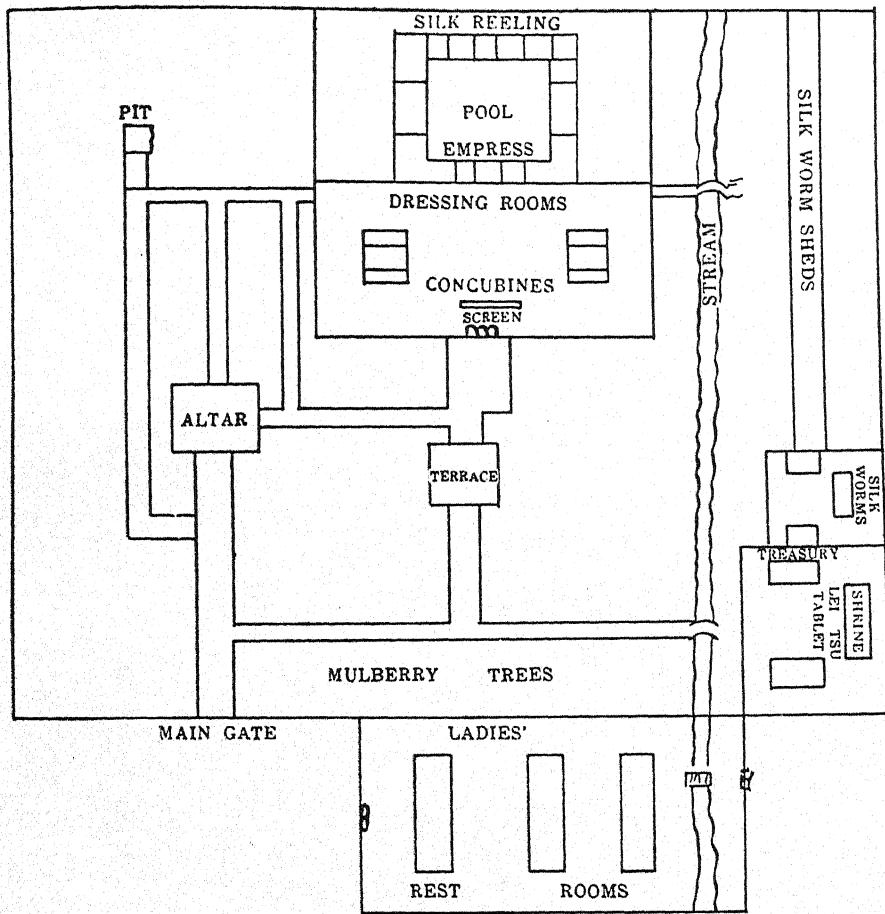
List of Securities held by the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank.

1 Deb.	Mackenzie & Co., Ltd., 1st Mortgage	6%	1915	@	F700.
2 Debs.	Shanghai Municipal Loan,	6%	1925	@	F100 each.
5 Debs.	" " "	6%	1926	@	F100 each.
1 Deb.	" " "	6%	1926	@	F500.
1 Deb.	Shanghai Power Co.,	5½%	1933	@	\$1,000.
8 Debs.	Shanghai Waterworks Co., Ltd.,	6%	1932	@	F100 each.
	Letter from Shanghai Power Co. dated 7th July, 1934, acknowledging that they hold three shares Shanghai Power Company Pref.				

Insurance Policies held by Hongkong and Shanghai Bank.

Employers' Liability Co. Policy No. 1322359 \$181,818 due 2nd October, 1935.
New Zealand Insurance Co. Fire Policy No. 42613 \$105,560 due 3rd May, 1935.





THE WORSHIP OF LEI TSU, PATRON SAINT OF SILK WORKERS

By EDWARD T. WILLIAMS

PREFATORY NOTE.

Lei Tsu* is variously known as "the Lady of Hsiling,"† as the "Hsien Ts'an,"‡ i.e. the inventor of silk, and popularly as "the Goddess of Silk." Strictly speaking, she is not a goddess. The state religion of old China recognized several grades of divinity. Lei Tsu was among those placed in the second rank. But to the ordinary Chinese she was a goddess and worshipped as such. In this paper I shall use interchangeably the terms Lei Tsu, Lady of Hsiling, Hsien Ts'an and Goddess of Silk. The facts set forth herein are derived chiefly from the Manual of the Board of Ceremonies of the Manchu Dynasty,§ from the Fundamental Statutes of the Manchu Dynasty,|| and from the *T'ung Tien*,** a general survey of the rites of the state religion.

* 媚祖。 † 西陵氏。 ‡ 先蠶。 § 欽定禮部則例。 ¶ 大清會典。 ** 通典。

In the summer of 1934 the *Shun Pao*¹ of Shanghai published a communication from Nanking to the effect that the Society for the Improvement of the Silk Industry had received a request that the Government be asked to designate the seventh day of the seventh month as a day for the celebration of the birth of Lei Tsu, the woman who is said by legend to have been the first to teach the Chinese the making of silk. The Government replied very promptly that history knew nothing of the birthday of Lei Tsu and that moreover the erection of temples in her honor could not aid the silk industry.

In this the Chinese Government showed that it was unwilling to encourage the Chinese people in superstition. Incidentally, too, it revealed the wide gulf that separates the present administration from the various dynasties that have ruled China in the past. The Manchu government actively supported Confucianism, subsidized Buddhism and Taoism and tolerated Mohammedanism, Judaism and Christianity as well as numerous cults of minor importance. That the Manchus were superstitious does not surprise us; that they participated in many curious rites was to have been expected. But the policy of religious tolerance which they followed was indeed surprising and much to their credit.

¹ The well-known Chinese newspaper.

While admitting the folly of superstition, we may at least agree that in using the superstitions of the people to encourage industry, the Manchus exhibited considerable wisdom. This was shown in the method employed to carry out the fourth apothegm of K'ang-hsi's Sacred Edict, "Honor Farming and Silk Culture that there may be sufficient clothing and food." In harmony with the Confucian principle that "As the wind blows the grass bends," i.e. that the example set by those above will be followed by those below, the Emperor, himself, every spring ploughed several furrows in the "field of God" and sowed grain there, and the Empress, in person, fed the silk worms, reeled the cocoons and spun the silk. The ploughing and sowing of the Emperor were associated with the worship of Shén-nung,² the legendary hero who is said to have introduced agriculture, and the silk-making of the Empress was made a part of the worship of Lei Tsu, the woman who is credited with the invention of silk. In the Manual of the Board of Ceremonies, Lei Tsu is called "the Lady of Hsiling," her supposed birthplace. Tradition says she was a consort of Huang Ti, the mythical ruler who is said to have governed China about 3,000 B.C. The idol in some popular temples representing her as a woman with a horse's head had its origin, no doubt, in the tale, told in several forms, of a horse that fell in love with her, and was killed by her father. The story adds that the hide of the horse, set out to dry, was passed by the maiden. As she did so the hide arose and embraced her and carried her off. This is possibly an astrological myth, although the cyclical character associated with the date of her worship to-day is *ssü* 蛇, belonging to the serpent, and not *wu* 武, represented by the horse. The practice of associating animals with the twelve branches of the cycle appears, however, to be a comparatively modern one. The tale may have been invented during the Mongol period. It is of too recent origin to be of use in this study.

In A.D. 1742 the Emperor Ch'ien-lung, the master-builder of the Manchu Dynasty, had a shrine constructed for the worship of Lei Tsu as the Goddess of Silk.³ It was erected in the north-eastern part of the Western Park in Peking. It was at this shrine that the Empress and the court ladies carried out with lavish display the ritual which this paper describes. The ceremony deserves notice because it seems to have been the only public function for whose observance women were made imperial officers. Nevertheless Ch'ien-lung was not introducing a new ritual; it had been a part of the state religion since very ancient times.

Silk is one of the most valuable gifts of China to the world. The date of its invention is unknown, but that it was first made by women is most probable, since women in primitive societies took the lead in the invention of textiles. It was an important article of commerce with Rome in the first century of our era, as is indicated by the complaints of Pliny, the Elder, against the extravagance of Roman women shown in its purchase.⁴ Three centuries earlier Mencius spoke of it as of something in common use and quoted the regulations of Wén Wang respecting its use in the twelfth century B.C.⁵ Still

² 帝藉. ³ 神農. See also the *Li Chi*, Chapter on Chi T'ung.

⁴ See plan.

⁵ In his *Natural History*.

⁶ Mencius, Bk. VII, Pt. I, Ch. xxii.

earlier, according to the *Tribute of Yü*, it was a well established industry in the very regions which are to-day still noted for its manufacture.⁷

The worship of Lei Tsu, the "Lady of Hsiling," credited with its invention, cannot, however, be traced farther back in antiquity than the Chou Dynasty. The *T'ung Tien* 通典, which, as its name indicates, makes a general survey of state ritual under various dynasties, was compiled in 1747 during the reign of Ch'ien-lung. Describing the ritual under the Chou Dynasty (1122-256 B.C.), the editor says:—"The Regulations of the Chou 周制 provided that in the mid-month of spring the Queen should lead the ladies of rank to the altar in the northern suburb of the capital to offer sacrifice to the *Hsien Ts'an* 先蠶," i.e.—the first maker of silk. A commentary adds that the "*Hsien Ts'an*" was a constellation in the sky. The *T'ung Tien* states furthermore that the Queen and royal concubines fasted before making their offerings and gathered mulberry leaves in person in order to encourage the silk industry. The Regulations also required the "Son of Heaven and the feudal lords to maintain public mulberry orchards and silk-worm houses."

During the early Han Dynasty⁸ (206 B.C.-A.D. 9) according to the same work the Empress worshipped the *Hsien Ts'an* in the eastern suburb. The commentary says:—"In the spring when the mulberry trees were putting forth their leaves the Empress went in person into the park to pluck mulberry leaves to take to the silk-worm house to feed worms. She sacrificed an ox, a sheep and a pig in the worship of the *Hsien Ts'an*."

Under the Later Han Dynasty (A.D. 25-221) the ritual was far more elaborate. It was in the Fourth Moon that the Empress led the wives of the dukes, ministers and feudal lords in the worship of the Goddess of Silk. She rode under a canopy of blue (or green) 青 plumes, in a carriage drawn by four horses. She had a dragon banner with a border of nine scallops. The wife of the Captain-General rode as Councillor. The wife of the Master of the Horse drove the forward chariot with its bells and flags. It had a leathern hood, had scythes on its wheels and was armed with halberds. From Lo-yang⁹ they led thousands of carriages and tens of thousands of horsemen to participate in this celebration. Since the official carriages were being occupied by the women, special provision had to be made for the officers themselves from the imperial supply. Five camps of guards protected the city. The wives of the provincial officers of Honan, imitating the court ladies, took their husbands' carriages with the symbols of their authority and, accompanied by their husbands' attendants, joined the imperial party. It was a gay cavalcade with its sounding gongs, its jingling bells, its fluttering banners and its brilliantly dressed women. Mulberry leaves were brought to the palace to feed the silk worms and the Goddess of Silk was worshipped with the sacrifice of a sheep. If we can credit the account here given, we must admit that this celebration of a woman's festival in China in the second and third centuries of our era was noteworthy.

⁷ *Shu King*, Books of Hsia, Bk. I, Sections 3-8.

⁸ Han 漢.

⁹ Lo-yang was the capital of the Later Han.

The next notice of the cult relates to its observance under the reign of Wēn Ti of the state of Wei, 魏 one of the "Three Kingdoms" into which China was divided in the third century A.D. In the year 227 the Empress worshipped the *Hsien Ts'an* in the northern suburb according to the ritual of the Chou Dynasty.

In the reign of Wu Ti of the Western Chin 齊, in the year A.D. 285 the altar to the Goddess of Silk was in the western suburb (of Lo-yang in Honan). It was one *chang* in height and 2.4 *chang* square. The steps were five feet wide. The Empress cut the mulberry leaves in a grove south-east of the altar. She had a tent of ten *chang* south-west of the silk-worm house. Six ladies, wives of feudal lords, were chosen to serve as "silk-worm mothers" and "silk-worm mid-wives." Having selected a lucky day, the Empress chose twelve girls to walk with swaying garments after the fashion of the Han and Wei periods. She wore blue clothing and her carriage (or chair) was painted with representations of clouds. The "mothers" rested in carts drawn by six spirited horses. The women presidents were dressed to represent the spotted cicada. They had seals hanging from their girdles and they carried baskets and pruning hooks. The Princess Imperial and the nine imperial concubines, the ladies of hereditary rank and other ladies of the court, the wives of leading men in the counties and villages, especially the wives of dukes and marquises, noble ladies from outside the court and other noted women, all walked with swaying garments of blue (or green), and each carrying a basket and hook, took part in the ceremony. Two days before the gathering of the mulberry leaves the eggs were hatched and record made.

On the day of gathering the leaves the Empress, before going, had prayer made and gave orders for the offering of the great sacrifice. One person was chosen to prepare a hymn and, when this had been presented, the viands were removed and the remains of the flesh offering were distributed among the gatherers of the mulberry leaves and the hymn-maker. The Empress then went to the altar in the western suburb, which she ascended. The Princess Imperial attended her, standing below the altar on the east side. The Empress, facing the east, cut three branches of mulberry leaves. Each imperial concubine and the Princess Imperial cut off five branches and the remainder of the ladies, nine branches each. These were all given to the "silk worm mothers," who then returned to the silk worm house and the ceremony was ended. The Empress went back at once to the imperial palace. The Princess Imperial and those of lower rank approached the tablet (of the goddess) and set out a feast. Silk was distributed to all who had taken part.

In the Early Sung 宋 Dynasty (A.D. 420-477), in the *Ta Ming* 大明 Era in the year 460 there was first set up at Shih Li 石狸, north-west of the capital, an altar for the worship of the *Hsien Ts'an*. On a lucky spot a great hall was built and there was a terrace for the mulberry ceremony. They followed the rites of the Chin 齊 Dynasty.

The Northern Ch'i Dynasty (A.D. 550-577) built a shrine very similar in some respects to that which was constructed by Ch'ien-lung, but also differing from the latter in some details. It was located 18 *li* north-west of the palace. Outside the altar enclosure there was a

hall 90 paces square (a pace is roughly 5 feet). Around it was a wall, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *chang* (15 feet) high. Within the enclosure there were 27 houses for silk worms. Another hall was intended to be used by the palace servants (eunuchs). On the west side of the road the Empress' Terrace (*i.e.*, for the mulberry ceremony) was erected. It was 4 feet high and 2 *chang* square. There were 4 flights of steps, each 8 feet wide. The altar to the Goddess of Silk was built south-east of the Mulberry Terrace, east of the main path and south of the cross path. This altar was five feet high and two *chang* square. It had four flights of steps, each five feet wide. Around it was built a wall, measuring forty paces, in which there was a gate.

A green apron, a short jacket and yellow shoes were presented to the "silk worm mother." Every year in the spring a lucky day was chosen for the dukes and high officials to offer a great sacrifice¹⁰ to the Goddess of Silk. A pavilion for the Emperor was erected on the altar. There was no associate in this rite as there was in the worship of Shén-nung. When the ceremony was completed, the Empress had to go in person to gather mulberry leaves for the altar. She prepared clothes especially suited to the occasion and rode in a car decorated with plumes. Six other ladies were chosen to accompany her up the eastern steps of the Observation Terrace where a throne was set for Her Majesty. A lady with the rank of President of a Board carried a basket. Another brought a pruning hook. They were in court dress and stood below the terrace.

The Empress then descended from the terrace to cut off the mulberry leaves. The lady with the basket stood upon the left of the Empress and the one with the pruning hook on her right. The "Silk worm mother" stood behind. The Empress cut off three branches of mulberry leaves. When this was done she re-ascended the terrace and seated herself upon her throne to watch the progress of the ceremony. Then the court ladies, each in her order, cut off five branches. They were in ordinary dress. Then other ladies in informal dress or in black garments cut nine branches each. All were given to the "silk worm mother" to carry to the silk worm house. When all who took part in the ceremony had returned to their places, the Empress left the terrace and went to her dressing rooms where she refreshed herself with wine. After bestowing rewards, she returned to the palace.

The Northern Chou 北周 (A.D. 557-589), and the Sui 隋 Dynasty (A.D. 589-618) followed in the main the ritual of the Chin, already described.

No important changes in the ritual appear after the Sui Dynasty until we come to the Manchus. The cult then seems to have reached its most elaborate development. The ritual embraced all the most impressive features of earlier times. The Emperor, Ch'ien-lung, was no doubt responsible for this. He was an antiquarian and a stickler for adherence to the ancient forms, as was shown in his reconstruction of the altar to Shang Ti in the Temple of Heaven.

¹⁰ A "great sacrifice" was one that required the offering of an ox, a sheep and a pig.

The shrine dedicated to Lei Tsu, the Lady of Hsiling, generally spoken of as the *Hsien Ts'an* or first maker of silk, is an enclosure containing a group of buildings, situated about half-a-mile north and a little to the west of the back gate of the Forbidden City, not far west of the Hou Men of the Imperial City.¹¹ It is on the eastern shore of the lake. The enclosure measures some 450 feet east and west and 350 feet north and south. An additional enclosure has been constructed on the south measuring some 200 feet east and west by 80 feet north and south. This annex opens into the main compound and contains the dressing rooms of the princesses and other ladies who assist the Empress in the worship of the *Hsien Ts'an*. The walls enclosing the shrine and other walls also, except those of the altar and the terrace, are vermilion in color. The buildings and the walls are covered by tiles of green glaze. The principal entrance is in the south wall, west of the annex mentioned above. The gateway has three openings, each closed by two-leaved doors.

From the gate, called the "South Gate," a broad walk, called the "Spirit Way," leads to the Altar to the spirit of Lei Tsu, the "Goddess of Silk." The altar is four feet in height, is square and is surrounded by a wall, four feet high and four *chang* on a side. The altar is faced with golden coloured tile and has a coping of white marble. On each side of the altar there is a flight of ten steps and on the south, east and west sides there is a pair of bronze censers at the top and another pair at the bottom of each flight. Along the western side of the altar there is a paved walk that leads northward to the pit for the offerings. South-east of the altar is the terrace for watching the gathering of mulberry leaves. This terrace is also square, three *chang* and two feet on a side and four feet high. It is faced with golden coloured tiles and has a border of white marble. The top of the terrace is surrounded by a railing of vermilion colour, with openings on the east, south and west, and on each of these three sides there is a flight of ten steps. The mulberry trees are just south of the terrace. North of the terrace, about fifty feet, is the entrance to a large square enclosure, some 175 feet on a side. It is divided into two principal courts and contains the dressing rooms of the Empress and the two imperial concubines who assist her in the worship of the goddess. In the northern court there is a large pool and there are rooms for the hatching of silk worms and for weaving silk. A stream connected with the lake runs along the eastern side of the enclosure just mentioned. There are sluice gates for cutting off the entrance of the water and also for preventing its exit. It is used for washing the silk. Two bridges cross it; one from the east side-gate of the enclosing wall of the Empress' dressing rooms, the other near the southern exit of the water. This latter leads to the shrine in which is kept the tablet to the spirit of Lei Tsu, "Goddess of Silk." In the court of this shrine there is a slaughter house for the victims to be offered in sacrifice and a pavilion covering a well. Also on the north side of the court is the treasury for the vessels used in worship, and on the south side the sacred kitchen for the preparation of the cooked offerings. North of the court of the shrine

¹¹ Juliet Bredon, in her *Peking*, reproduces a map of Peking by Father Hyacinth Bitchurin of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission. The temple to the *Hsien Ts'an* is marked as No. 84 on that map.

there is a smaller court with buildings used for silk worms, and stretching northwards from this court is a long row of silk worm sheds, 27 *chien* in all.

From the period of the Chou Dynasty, 1122-256 B.C., to the downfall of the Manchu Dynasty in A.D. 1912 it was generally understood to be the duty of the monarch's wife to conduct the worship of the spirit of Lei Tsu. In this she was to be assisted by the ladies of the court and other ladies of rank. The Manual of the Rites of the Manchu Dynasty says:—"Every year the College of Astronomy shall select a lucky day in the spring, a day in whose cyclical representation the character *ssü* 𠂇 appears, for the worship of the Lady of Hsiling at her altar."

The Manchu Ritual required the Empress in person to sacrifice to the spirit of Lei Tsu, and to assist in person in the gathering of mulberry leaves for the feeding of the silk worms. If the Empress should be unable to discharge this duty, she was allowed to depute an imperial concubine to take her place, but in such case the ceremony was to be greatly curtailed. If in some great emergency no imperial concubine was available, the Court of Sacrificial Worship was authorized to send certain of its officers to worship according to the ritual used in the service to Shén-nung. When the Empress went in person she was accompanied by two imperial concubines; one of the third rank, the other of the fourth. Besides these there were three princesses, and four other ladies of rank, and forty-six other women who were to be made officers for the occasion and to be drilled beforehand in the ceremony.

Two days before the sacrifice a presiding officer of the Ministry of Ceremonies was to go to the slaughter house to inspect the victims. The Court of Sacrificial Worship on the same days should give notice of the two-days fast required in the case of a sacrifice of the second grade. All who participated in the service were required to observe the fast. The notice was given by placing a tablet with the warning on an altar-like table at the entrance to the Chiao T'ai Hall of the palace. Beside the notice was placed a bronze image of a man, which always accompanied the notice of fasting. The Chiao T'ai Hall is the one immediately north of the Ch'ien Ch'ing Kung in which the diplomatic corps was received in audience. The notice of fasting and, following it, the image of a man were carried by officers of the Court of Sacrificial Worship to the Ch'ien Ch'ing Kung and there handed over to officers of the Department of the Imperial Household, who, in turn, gave them to the eunuch in charge to place at the entrance of the Chiao T'ai Hall. The notice was to face the south, the image, the west. The officers who brought the notice were then to kneel once, *kotow* three times and withdraw.

On the day preceding the sacrifice the temple grounds were to be thoroughly cleared of grass and weeds and the buildings and sacred vessels prepared for the service. The tablet of the Goddess was taken from its shrine and placed in a yellow tent at the centre of the altar. The tent opened toward the south. Facing it on the south side of the altar was another tent at the top of the southern steps. In this the Empress was to worship, facing the north and the tablet of the Goddess. On the same day officers of the Court of Sacrificial Worship were required to examine the vessels to be used in the ceremony to

see that they conformed to the regulations. Inside the tent before the spirit tablet there was to be a "remembrance table" (*huai cho*)¹² on which should be placed one libation cup¹³ and thirty wine-cups.¹⁴ The libation cup was to be of porcelain, yellow in colour and decorated with the thunder scroll and the *t'ao-t'ieh* (ogre head). The wine cups were to be of white jade. In front of the table was to be placed an altar for offerings, contained in one *tēng*,¹⁵ two *hsing*,¹⁶ two *fu*,¹⁷ two *kuei*,¹⁸ ten *pien*,¹⁹ and ten *tou*.²⁰ The *tēng* is a bowl, which, with its cover, is globular in appearance. It is supported by a stem with a flaring base. The *hsing* may be made of pottery or of copper. It has a pair of ears representing ox-heads. Three horns representing mountains rise from the cover and three feet support the bowl. The *fu* is an oblong dish, four square, with a cover which has a crown corresponding to the oblong shape of the vessel. The ears of the vessel represent a pair of *k'uei* 獅, which is described as being a combination of ox, dragon and man. The vessel called *kuei* is oval in shape with a cover from which four horns project. The *pien* is made of woven bamboo splits. The bowl is a hemi-sphere and with its cover appears as a globe. The base is a truncated cone. South of the tablet tent is a trencher, divided into three sections, for the three principal victims, an ox, a sheep and a pig. Next to this on the south is a tall bronze censer with a vessel for holding incense, flanked by a pair of goats' horn candlesticks. On a table next to these objects there are three pottery cups for libations and a basket of silk. Just in front of the table is a jar of wine. Returning to the tablet tent, we find outside of it on the east four tables; one for cooked dishes, one for the "blessed flesh offering," one for wine, and the fourth a receiving table. West of the tent is another receiving table.

The offerings presented in the vessels described²¹ are of many kinds, constituting a banquet whose spiritual essences are supposed to delight the soul of Lei Tsu. The *Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien* in the section devoted to the Court of Sacrificial worship (Ch. 1085) gives in detail a list of the many substances with the exact quantity of each to the fraction of an ounce. It also prescribes the exact size to the fraction of an inch of the vessels containing the offerings and of their several parts. It describes too the material of which each is made and its colour and the themes of its decoration.

Among offerings are four kinds of incense, 374 candles, some of which are red, some white and others yellow. A deer is to be sacrificed as well as a hare. A piece of beef is to be the "blessed flesh offering." There must be a pint and a half of millet and a similar quantity of rice. Wheat flour and buckwheat flour are required. Celery, bamboo shoots, onions, jujubes, chestnuts and filberts are to be offered as well as calthrops and lily root. There was to be a pickled fish and a dried fish, and seasoning was to be supplied by sugar and salt and by red peppers and coriander. There were to be seven bottles of wine and all the cooking needed required six hundred and eighty catties of wood.

The musical instruments were arranged in two groups below the altar: one on the east, the other on the west of the main way. They

¹² 懷桌. ¹³爵. ¹⁴瓈. ¹⁵登. ¹⁶鋤. ¹⁷簠. ¹⁸簋. ¹⁹盨. ²⁰豆.

²¹ Vessels of the same names as those described but used in other rituals, are not necessarily of the same size, colour or decoration as these.

were one drum, four lutes, two *sê*²² (like guitars), six flageolets, six fifes, six *shêng*²³ (like bag-pipes with wooden bowl instead of bag—a mouth-piece fills the bowl with wind), two hand drums, sixteen *hsiang*²⁴ (sixteen steel plates suspended in a frame, each plate seven and a half inches long), two *yün ao*²⁵ (13 small brass discs suspended in frame, held in left hand and played upon by wooden mallet: not identical with *Yün Lo* 雲鑼), and two *pan*²⁶ (a *pan* consists of six hard wood tablets, about a foot long, fastened together by a cord through eyelets, arranged in a pair of three tablets each. They are not unlike what are vulgarly called “bones.”) Left and right of the orchestra the singers were stationed in two groups. They were eunuchs (童監). Behind the Empress' worshipping tent, at the foot of the altar steps, the two imperial concubines were to stand; behind them in two groups right and left were placed the seven other noble ladies who assisted in the worship. One woman usher and one cushion bearer, also a woman, stood on the east of the worshipping tent and two others with similar duties on the west. Two other women assistants stood behind the Empress' tent, one facing east, the other west. Three women had charge severally of the incense, silk and wine. Two others served the Empress with the “blessed flesh offering” and two more with the “blessed cup of wine” when she communed with the spirit of Lei Tsu.

East of the altar and facing west the Woman Liturgist (典儀) was to stand and near her the woman who was to be Director of Music. The women officers who were to gather up the sacrifices were to stand north-west of the pit. Ten women were chosen to serve as an Advance Guard (前引女官) whose duty was to walk before the chair of the Empress and to conduct her from place to place during the ceremony.

Altogether there were 117 persons required for the fulfillment of the ritual, of whom fifty-six were women. There were 34 eunuchs and there were representatives of the Ministry of Ceremonies, the Department of the Imperial Household, the Imperial Equipage Department and the Court of Sacrificial Worship. Protection was given by a detachment of the Gendarmerie.

Three-quarters of an hour before daylight the Commandant of the Gendarmerie prepared to clear the way from the Shêng Wu Gate of the Palace (the north or back gate) to the shrine of Lei Tsu. Entrances to muddy lanes to the right or left of the route were to be cut off by curtains. The princesses and other ladies who were to assist in the worship were all to assemble in court dress at the shrine. Chairs and carts were prepared by the Imperial Equipage Department. During the first quarter of the hour *ch'êng* (辰), the hour 7 to 9 a.m., a director of the Sacrificial Court and an officer of the Household Department were to go to the Ch'ien Ch'ing Gate and announce the time. The eunuch in charge would then inform the Empress who in her imperial robes then entered her chair and left the palace followed by the two imperial concubines. They enter the court of the shrine through the eastern opening of the South Gate of the shrine. (The central opening was reserved for the spirit). As the Empress enters the shrine, two women officers kneel

beside her chair and request her to descend. She then leaves her chair, followed by the two concubines. The Advance Guard of young women and two women ushers conduct them to their retiring rooms on the north side of the enclosure. Another woman official escorts the other ladies who take part in the service to the outside of the Empress' quarters where they arrange themselves in two groups, east and west of the main entrance. At a quarter past the hour of *ch'én*, i.e. at 9:30 a.m. by our reckoning, the chief officer in charge of the silk worms goes to the chamber containing the spirit tablet of Lei Tsu. There he offers incense, kneels and kotows three times, and then, escorted by ten eunuchs, he carries the tablet and places it in the yellow pavilion on the altar. Two women officers then request Her Imperial Majesty to proceed with the ceremony. Before doing so, the Lady of the Wash-Basin presents a basin of water and the Empress washes her hands. The Lady of the Towel presents a towel and Her Majesty wipes her hands. This ceremony completed, they walk to the altar. The imperial concubines and the other ladies who take part in the worship follow. The women officers in charge of the prayer cushions had already put them in place. The Mistress of Ceremonies and her Assistant escort the Empress up the middle flight of steps to the place of worship, where she faces north. The ten women of the Advance Guard halt and stand below the altar. The two women who are ceremonial assistants follow the Empress up the altar. The Assistant Mistress of Ceremonies leads the princesses and ladies to their respective places of worship. The Mistress of Ceremonies then calls out: "Approach the Tablet." The Empress draws near the tablet and stands. The Liturgist (典儀) then invites the spirit to be present. The Woman Officer in charge of the incense offers incense on the altar of incense. The choir chants the Invitation to the Spirit. The theme is "Restful Peace." The orchestra plays. The Mistress of Ceremonies then calls: "Approach the altar of incense." The Assistant Mistress of Ceremonies then conducts the Empress to the incense altar. The Woman who bears the incense kneels before Her Majesty. The Mistress of Ceremonies calls: "Kneel." "Offer Incense." The Empress kneels and takes three sticks of incense and a little powdered incense and burns it on the altar. The Mistress of Ceremonies calls: "Return to your station." Her Majesty returns to her tent. The Mistress of Ceremonies calls: "Kneel and worship." The Empress and the imperial concubines (and the other ladies) all observe the ceremony of six *su*²⁷ (salutations) three kneelings and three *pai* (low bows while kneeling). The music ceases. The Liturgist with the Mistress of the Silk and the woman in charge of the sacrificial cup conduct the ceremony of the first offering. The Mistress of Silk offers in a basket, the bearer of the cup offers in a cyanthus. As they bring them, the choir sings "The First Offering." The Mistress of Ceremonies calls for the hymn, "Honoring Peace." The orchestra plays. The Mistress of Silk kneels and offers her basket. She places it on the altar, and kotows three times. The Mistress of the Cup kneels and offers her cup and pours the wine on the mat. This done,

²⁷ *Su* 穎.

both retire and the music ceases. The Liturgist then makes the *Ya Hsien*.²⁸ The choir sings the *Ya Hsien* hymn and the orchestra plays the tune, "General Peace." The Mistress of the Cup pours a libation towards the left, *i.e.* the east. The ceremony is similar to the first offering. The music ceases. The Liturgist makes the final offering. The choir sings "The Last Offering" hymn. The orchestra plays the tune, "Guard the Peace." The Mistress of the Cup pours a libation towards the right, *i.e.* the west. The ceremony is like that of the *Ya Hsien*, or second offering. The music stops. The Liturgist calls: "Present the flesh offering." The woman officer in charge of the flesh offering reverently offers it before the spirit tablet. She retires and stands at the right of the Empress' place. The woman who receives the flesh offering stands at the left.²⁹ The Mistress of Ceremonies calls: "Kneel." The Empress and the two women at her right and left all kneel. Then follows the call: "Drink the wine of blessing."³⁰ The woman official on the right brings the wine. The Empress receives the cup; raises it reverently in offering and hands it to the woman official on her left. In the same manner the Empress receives the "Blessed flesh offering."³¹ The Mistress of Ceremonies cries: "Worship." The Empress makes one obeisance (*pai*). In this worship the two imperial concubines and the other ladies (associates in the ceremony) do not participate. Again the Mistress of Ceremonies cries: "Kneel and Worship." The Empress, the two imperial concubines and the other ladies participating all observe the ceremony of four salutations, two kneelings and two low bows while kneeling.

The Liturgist calls: "Remove the Viands." The choir chants the "Remove the Viands" hymn, and the orchestra plays the music, "Gentle Peace." When the viands are removed, the music ceases. The Liturgist calls: "Escort the Spirit away." The Choir sings the hymn, "Sending away the Spirit." The orchestra plays the music, "Pervading Peace." The Mistress of Ceremonies then calls: "Kneel and worship." The Empress observes the ceremony of six salutations, three kneelings and three bows. The imperial concubines and the other assisting ladies all join in this ceremony. The music ceases. The Liturgist calls: "Take up the silk, the incense and the viands and escort them to the pit." The Mistress of the Silk approaches the tablet, kneels and kotows three times and takes the basket of silk. The Mistress of the Incense does likewise and takes up the incense. The Mistress of the Cup observes the same rite and takes up the flesh offering. In regular order they carry them to the pit. The Empress turns and stands beside her place of worship, facing the west. The woman in charge of the prayer cushion removes it while the incense and silk pass by, then replaces it. The Empress returns to her place of worship, and stands there. The Liturgist calls: "Observe

²⁸亞屬 which means "second offering."

²⁹ The woman who presents the flesh offering stands beside one of the tables east of the tablet tent. After presenting it, she hands it to a woman official west of the tent who places it on the "receiving table" there. There is also a "receiving table" in front of the Empress and after she has taken the wine and the flesh offering in her hands they are laid on that "receiving table."

³⁰福酒.

³¹福胙.

the sacrificial pit." The Mistress of Ceremonies conducts Her Majesty down the steps to the place of observation. The announcement then is made: "The ceremony is ended." The Empress is escorted to the robing rooms where she rests a while. The imperial concubines also are conducted to their dressing rooms and allowed to rest. The music ceases. The officials in charge of the silk temple reverently request the spirit tablet to return to its shrine. They offer incense and observe the usual ceremony. The Empress returns to her palace. The eunuch in charge removes the fasting notice and the bronze image from the Chiao T'ai Hall and gives them to officers of the Court of Sacrificial Worship to be returned to the store house. The following day the Empress will lead the two imperial concubines, the princesses and other noble ladies in the observance of the ceremony of gathering mulberry leaves. No one is allowed to participate in this who has not taken part in the worship of the patron saint of the silk workers. If it should happen that the worms have not yet hatched, the ceremony of gathering leaves may be postponed to a more appropriate time.

On a day when the silk worms have hatched the Empress in person will gather mulberry leaves. An officer of the Department of the Imperial Household will place the hook and basket of the Empress in the dragon pavilion on the right of the Observation Terrace. The Empress will have a hook of gold and the imperial concubines, hooks of silver, and all three will use yellow baskets. The princesses will have hooks of silver gilt and the other ladies that assist will have lacquered hooks and all will have red baskets. All officials who take part in the ceremony and all women engaged in it must wear court dress. Her Imperial Majesty in her chair and the two imperial concubines in their carts will proceed to the shrine of the Goddess of Silk as on the occasion of the sacrifice. The two women officials who lead the procession and the ten that constitute the Advance Guard as well as the two women who form the Rear Guard must all descend from their carts before the Empress leaves her chair. When she alights they will all conduct her to her dressing rooms where she will rest a moment. The two imperial concubines will also enter their dressing rooms. Afterwards the two imperial concubines and the other ladies who take part in gathering leaves will arrange themselves in two groups east and west of the place for gathering mulberry leaves. The highest in rank will stand at the north end of each line. The ladies who do not take part in the ceremony will stand in the vacant space below the altar. Forty eunuchs, each with a five-coloured flag, arrange themselves outside the mulberry grove.

The Liturgist requests the Empress to gather mulberry leaves. The Mistress of Ceremonies and her assistant as well as the ten women of the Advance Guard escort Her Majesty to the mulberry grove where she stands. One woman attendant kneels on her right, holding the Empress' hook, which the Empress takes with her right hand. Another woman attendant with the basket of the Empress kneels on her left hand. Her Majesty takes the basket in her left hand. The song, "Gathering Mulberry Leaves" is sung. The Empress then goes to the first mulberry tree east of the terrace, and facing the east, plucks one branch. Two "silk worm mothers" assist

her in cutting it. Then she goes to the first mulberry tree on the west side and, turning to face the east, she cuts off another branch, assisted by the two "silk worm mothers." She then hands the hook and the basket to her two attendants and the Liturgist requests her to ascend the observation terrace where a throne is placed for her. The two imperial concubines go to the second tree in each group (i.e. east and west) and cut off five branches each. The princesses go to the third tree on each side and also cut off five branches each. The other ladies who take part then follow going to the fourth tree on each side and each cuts off nine branches. The two "silk worm mothers" hand to each a hook and a basket and assist them in their task. This work done, the attendants retire. The two imperial concubines ascend the terrace and stand on the left and right of Her Majesty. The two attendants and the Liturgist (a woman) present the "silk worm mothers" and "mid-wives" to the Empress. They kneel before her. The hooks and baskets are handed to them, who then carry them to the silk worm house. The gathering of the leaves continues and the "silk worm mid-wives" scatter them on the frames. The song, "Gathering Mulberry Leaves" ceases. The "silk worm mother" announces to the Liturgist the completion of the work. The Liturgist kneels and informs Her Majesty. The Mistress of ceremonies and her assistant conduct the Empress to her dressing rooms. The Liturgist requests Her Majesty to ascend the throne. She does so. The two imperial concubines and all the ladies of rank below them as well as the "silk worm mothers" and "silk worm mid-wives" are brought before the throne each in her proper place. The Assistant Mistress of Ceremonies calls out: "Worship; kneel and kotow." They all observe the six salutations, three kneelings and three *pai*.

The Liturgist requests Her Majesty to return to her palace. She leaves her dressing rooms and the Mistress of Ceremonies with her assistant and the ten women of the Advance Guard reverently escort the Empress to her chair. She returns to her palace.

When the worms have finished feeding and the cocoons are complete, the officials in charge will so report to the officers of the Imperial Household. A lucky day will be selected and the Empress will go to the altar of the patron saint of silk workers to offer the silk reeled from the cocoons. Entering the weaving house at the shrine, she will in person reel three basins of silk. The dyers will dye it in three colours; vermillion, green and deep yellow. This is to be used for embroidering garments for the services at the suburban altars.

The ritual which the writer has attempted to describe deserves but a brief comment. It is well known that under the imperial regime in China every industry had its guild with its patron saints and its place of meeting. Every patron saint or deity had a fête day to be celebrated by the guild in pleasure-making, theatricals or pageantry. If the guild was also to maintain a guild hall, there was a shrine there with an image of the deity and religious observances were held there. But these religious services were not supported by the state. They were not regarded usually as a part of the state religion. Why was the *Hsien Ts'an*, the inventor of silk made an exception? True, the state also recognized and worshipped the *Hsien Nung* 先農 "First Farmer," the *Hsien Shih* 先師 or "First Teacher" and the *Hsien I*

先醫 or "First Physician," but these were all on a somewhat different footing from that of the *Hsien Ts'an* or "Inventor of Silk." The farmer produces the food of the people and that has always been considered the care of the state. Instruction and health are also of primary importance. Why then honour the "First Silk-worker" rather than the first potter, or the inventor of paper or porcelain, all of importance to the comfort and welfare of the people?

Perhaps it was because silk was from very ancient times one of the principal articles of tribute to the central government as it was also a valuable article in the inter-state commerce. But more important than this probably was the fact that rolls of silk were the money of ancient China. Even to-day *pi* 索 literally "a piece of silk" is a common term for "money." In foreign commerce too silk has been an article in demand since China's first intercourse with the West. That China has lost her leadership in this is not due to the neglect of the worship of Lei Tsu, but rather to the neglect of a proper care of the silk worms and the sorting and standardizing of the product, and the present Government is wisely showing a disposition to correct this neglect.

HOW THE CHINESE LOOK UPON THE ART OF PAINTING¹

By OSVALD SIRÉN

The Chinese attitude towards painting is a question that branches out over so many different fields that it hardly can be fully illustrated in a short communication. It would require a close study of some of the basic currents in the intellectual and spiritual life of the people, but I am limited at this place to a few remarks and for the rest I shall let the Chinese (as far as possible) speak for themselves. As painting never was to the Chinese something that might be detached from other aspects of spiritual life, the questions concerning its evolution and its appreciation are not purely aesthetical problems, but rather questions concerning the religious and philosophical concepts of the various epochs. The only thing that I can do in this connexion is to point out a few ideas of guiding importance, which have been more or less defined and discussed by the Chinese critics and artists themselves.

Our knowledge about the earliest forms of Chinese painting is mainly based on literary records in which, as a matter of fact, less is said about the actual appearance of the pictures than about their purpose, their moral, ceremonial, or even political importance. The early paintings were evidently done with a definite practical end in view, although this aim should not be taken in a too narrow or intellectual sense. Thus, for instance, Chang Yen-yüan, the famous author of the *Li Tai Ming Hua Chi* (written 847), makes the following statements in the opening paragraph in his first chapter called "The Origin of Painting": "Painting promotes culture and principles of right conduct; it penetrates completely all the aspects of the universal life (or spirit); it fathoms the subtle and the abstruse, serving thus the same purpose as the Six Classics, and it revolves with the four seasons. It originated from Nature, and from no decrees or works of men." That is to say, according to this old author, painting had a divine origin just as the art of writing with which it was originally most closely associated, or, as he

¹ Condensed from two lectures under this title given by Dr. Sirén in the Wu-Lien-Teh Hall on February 14th and 18th, 1935.

explains it, it was revealed to men by highly evolved spiritual beings of mythical periods. Chang Yen-yüan's exposition of how this was done, how painting was divided from pictorial signs, and how it was used in religious ceremonies, is too long to be quoted here. It all belongs to what is usually termed the mythical periods; it is only when arriving at the Ch'in and the Han Dynasties that he speaks about paintings with a predominating decorative character. These were largely executed on the walls of the palaces and the memorial temples, sometimes with definite moral or political purpose in view.

To illustrate this, he quotes a paragraph from the philosopher Tsao Chih (192-232), who wrote: "When one sees pictures of the Three Kings and of the Five Emperors, one cannot but look at them with respect and veneration, and when one sees pictures of the San Chi [the last debased rulers of the Hsia and Shang and Chou Dynasties], one cannot but feel sad. When one sees pictures of rebels and unfilial sons, one cannot but grind the teeth. When one sees pictures representing men of high principles and great sages, one cannot but forget food. When one sees pictures of faithful subjects who died at the call of duty, one cannot but feel exalted, etc. By this we may realise that paintings serve as moral examples, or mirrors of conduct."

Chang Yen-yüan then goes on extolling the works of painting as more important than any literary records or biographies for preserving the great characters of ancient times. The pictures which he had in mind, and which probably formed the main bulk of the painted works of the Han period, were no doubt representations of historical or mythological characters well-known to their countrymen, and represented under more or less typical aspects. They were not portraits in the modern naturalistic sense of the word, yet expressive and evocative of definite characteristics or actions. These images served to evoke, or suggest, in a symbolical way, the presence of the great men of ancient times, and were even, strictly speaking, considered as substitutes for the departed. They might in a way be considered as the earliest examples or forerunners of the ancestral portraits which in later times became so popular in Chinese art, their main purpose being then, as in later times, to "transmit the spirit," as the Chinese say, of the people depicted. And this involves, indeed, something more than naturalistic portraiture; it is based on an effort at imaginative creation (or re-creation) which is at the bottom of all great art. The point might be further illustrated by various quotations from Chinese sources, as for instance some of the utterances about portrait painting attributed to Ku K'ai-chih (second half of fourth century), which however may be left out at this place. To all these early painters the representations of human figures had a definite moral importance, and served as means for creating substitutes for people of past ages.

A similar attitude is also characteristic of Hsieh Ho, who wrote his famous treatise, the *Ku Hua P'in Lu* at the end of the fifth century, and gave the first definition of the henceforth famous Six Principles of painting. Hsieh Ho says himself that he simply transmits something which always has existed as the warp and woof of Chinese painting, but his great merit is to have expressed this in terms

which were acceptable not only to his own time but also to subsequent generations of painters and critics. We shall have occasion to return to them over and over again as we pass through the theoretical discussions of various ages, and we shall then note that, though the interpretation of certain principles varied, they were nevertheless accepted as the general foundation for Chinese art-criticism.

Hsieh Ho introduces his principles with the following words:

"All pictures should be classified according to their merits and faults. There are no pictures which do not exercise some influence, be it of an elevating or debasing kind. The silent records of ancient times are unrolled before us when we open a picture. Although the Six Principles existed (since early times), there were few who could master them all, yet from ancient to modern times there have been painters skilled in one (or the other).

"What are these Six Principles?

"The first is: Spirit Resonance (or the Vibration of Vitality) and Life Movement. The second is: Bone Manner (i.e. Structural) Use of the Brush. The third is: Conform with the Objects (to obtain) Likeness. The fourth is: Apply the Colours according to the Characteristics. The fifth is: Plan and Design, Place and Position (i.e. Composition). The sixth is: To Transmit Models by Drawing.

"Only Lu T'an-wei and Wei Hsieh applied completely all these principles. There have always been good and bad paintings; art as such is art, whether old or modern. I have now carefully arranged some painters of old and modern times and classified them according to the above principles, but I have cut out all introductory remarks and entered into no discussion of the origin of painting. According to tradition, it took its origin from divine beings but these have never been seen or heard."

Then follows the classification; 27 painters are mentioned, shortly characterised and divided into six classes. The principles mentioned express essentials in Chinese painting, i.e. fundamental features which must be observed if the painting is to answer its purpose and become a significant work of art. Or, it may be said, that they indicate the path of the painter, that they are sign-posts along the road which must be observed if the painter is to arrive at his goal. At the same time that they constitute a general basis for appreciation and criticism, they offer certain points of departure for any one who wants to penetrate into the painter's work.

But their inclusiveness and terse formulation have in some cases conduced to a somewhat paradoxical vagueness which becomes still more apparent when they are translated into a foreign language. The Chinese expressions leave room for different interpretations, though within definite limits, so that the essential meaning of the principles remains unaltered. This difficulty of interpretation applies particularly to the first principle which is the most important of them all; it is to this that the discussions of the succeeding generations of critics are attached, because here exist possibilities of philosophical or aesthetic interpretations which are practically excluded in reference to the five others. These latter principles do not call for much comment; they are stated in an unequivocal fashion and are more or less self-evident.

The structural brush-work has always been accepted as an element of primary importance in Chinese painting, forming not only the backbone but the very life-nerve of the painter's art. The prominence of this can neither be exaggerated nor misunderstood. All writers on Chinese painting, whatever school or current of style they belong to, insist upon it. It is the *sine qua non* of the painter's technical accomplishments.

The third point: to conform with the objects in order to obtain their likeness, is evidently a demand for objective correspondance with nature, though it would certainly not be correct to take it as an exigency of realism. The objects of nature, the figure, flowers, animals or whatever motifs that might be chosen were never to the Chinese simply decorative forms or appearances, they always carried a meaning, a spirit which had to be expressed through the form. There is a symbolism not of intellectual but of aesthetic or spiritual kind; its form is never constant.

The fourth, fifth and sixth point relating to colouring, composition and the copying of classical models are all of greatest importance from the professional view point and abundantly discussed by later writers. It may not be necessary to dwell on them here in detail, though it should be pointed out that colouring does not refer simply to the use of pigments but also to the proper use of ink by which colouristic effects may be suggested, and that composition in Chinese painting is preeminently a problem of "spacing," or of placing the objects so that the intermediate spaces become eloquent and aesthetically significant. The transmission of the old models by copying is the traditional path of learning, but it does not necessarily lead to simple reproductions of old paintings; it leads to a creative activity in conformity with the ideas and forms of the old masters.

The first principle, *ch'i-yün shéng-tung*, is the most inclusive formula for the essence of the painter's art. It suggests more than it defines and can consequently hardly be rendered into English by four words. The first character, *ch'i*, signifies the life-breath of everything, be it man, beast, mountain or tree. It may be rendered by the word spirit or spiritual, but also by the word vitality which is a result of the activity of the spirit. If the former expression is used, it must be understood that it signifies a cosmic principle and not any kind of individualised spirit. It is akin to Tao as well as to the Confucian "Spirit of Heaven and Earth." Both correspondances have been discussed by various interpreters; the difference may, after all, not have been very essential to Hsieh Ho. *Yün* is the Chinese expression for resonance, consonance, harmonious vibrations, etc., and it is used particularly of poetic compositions in which certain parts correspond. As it is used in conjunction with *ch'i*, the meaning seems to be that the vitalising spirit or power should reverberate or resound harmoniously through the paintings, imparting expression or spiritual significance.

The two words *shéng tung* are more definite, the first is commonly used for life or birth, the second for movement or motion of a physical kind. The whole formula might thus be rendered in English as "resonance or vibration of the vitalising spirit and move-

ment of life." If it be objected that the meaning of these words is very vague, particularly when applied to painting, it may be replied that this is in full conformity with the Chinese mode of expressing such ideas. It was left to the intuition of the individual interpreters to develop it further and to give it the meaning that was closest to their respective manner of painting or trend of thought. How this was done in the various ages is a long story out of which only a few glimpses can be revealed in this connection. We may note to begin with the earliest interpretation which is offered by Chang Yen-yüan, who devotes a special chapter to the *Discussion of the Six Principles of Painting*. A few extracts from it may here be quoted:

"Few painters of old have combined all the Six Principles, but I shall here discuss them further. Some of the ancient painters knew how to transmit the likeness of shapes without regard to structure and vitality [spirit], but the art of painting should be sought for beyond outward likeness. This is, however, difficult to explain to common people. Paintings of the present time may possess outward likeness, but the resonance of the spirit does not become manifest in them. If the spirit-resonance is sought for, the outward likeness will be obtained at the same time.

"The representation of natural objects requires likeness of the shapes, but the shapes must all have structure [bone] and life [spirit]. Structure, vitality [spirit] and shapes originate in the directing idea and are expressed by the brush-work. Therefore, those who are skilled in painting are also good in calligraphy.

"Ghosts and human beings possessing life and movement must show the operation of the spirit to be perfect. If they do not have this spirit-resonance, it is in vain that they exhibit fine shapes, and if the brush-work is not vigorous, their fine colours are useless. Such pictures cannot be called wonderful.

"As for planning, design and positions, it is the most common thing in painting."

The only painter who, according to Chang Yen-yüan, possessed a complete mastery of all the Six Principles was Wu Tao-tzü: "He exhausted completely the creative power of nature, [he was creative to the utmost], and the resonance of the spirit was so overwhelmingly strong [in his works] that it hardly could be confined to the silk." His pictures "were divine things" or, as said by another critic: "a divine power worked through him," which is simply another way of emphasizing his extraordinary spiritual vitality.

It may be said that in Chang Yen-yüan's descriptions the *ch'i yün* becomes a more individualised quality than appears in the very vague expressions of Hsieh Ho, yet to him too it is a spiritual force imparting life, character and significance to material forms, something that links the works of the individual artist with a cosmic principle. But this is active in the artist before it becomes manifest in his works; it is like an echo from the divine part of his creative genius reverberating in the lines and shapes which he draws with his hand. To call it rhythm (as sometimes was done) is evidently not correct, because it is not intellectually measured or controlled, quite the contrary, it manifests unconsciously and spreads like a flash over the picture, or over some part of it. This is further developed in

another chapter of the *Li Tai Ming Hua Chi*, which is called *Discussion of the Brushwork of Ku K'ai-chih, Lu T'an-wei, Chang Seng-yu and Wu Tao-tzü*. Here the old historian gives one of the closest definitions ever attempted by the Chinese critics of the painter's attitude to his work and his means of expression. The artistic significance of the brushwork in painting as well as in calligraphy is brought out in terms full of meaning; old masters like Ku and Lu are extolled and their styles briefly characterised, but however wonderful they may have been, none of them reached that inexhaustible source of inspiration from which the divine Wu drew his creative impetus.

"He concentrated his spirit and harmonized it with the works of Nature [or the Creator], rendering them through the power of his brush. His ideas were, as has been said, fixed before he took up the brush; when the picture was finished, it expressed them all."

To illustrate this the writer refers to Chuang-tzü's well known stories about the cook of Prince Hui and the stone-mason from Ying, who performed the most difficult things apparently without effort, because they had grasped the secret of *Tao*, the "Way of Heaven, which is not to strive, and yet to know how to overcome." In this same way really great works of art must be done; as explained by Chang Yen-yüan: "He who deliberates and moves the brush intent upon making a picture, misses to a still greater extent the art of painting, while he who cogitates and moves the brush without such intentions, reaches the art of painting. His hand will not get stiff; his heart will not grow cold; without knowing how, he accomplishes it."

Chang Yen-yüan expresses here the same essential truth that over and over again was asserted by the ancient philosophers of China, be they Confucian, Taoist or Buddhist: "To understand the meaning or significance of a thing, one must become the thing, harmonize one's consciousness with it and reach the mental attitude which brings knowledge without intellectual deliberation." Or, in the words of Confucius; "He who is in harmony with Nature hits the mark without effort and apprehends the truth without thinking." The attitude is exactly the same as the Taoist idea of the identity of the subjective and the objective. "Only the truly intelligent understand this principle of identity. They do not view things as apprehended by themselves subjectively, but transfer themselves into the position of the things viewed. And viewing them thus they are able to comprehend them, nay, to master them; and he who can master them is near. So it is that to place oneself in subjective relation with externals, without consciousness of the objectivity, this is *Tao*."²

* * *

The aesthetic attitude, based on Taoist philosophy, expressed by Chang Yen-yüan, remained characteristic also of many of the later writers on painting, but space will not allow us to quote them here. One example must suffice, particularly as it became of dominating influence and was followed by many subsequent expounders of art.

² Giles' translation, *Chuang Tzü*, p. 20.

We are thinking of the Emperor Hui Tsung and his famous catalogue, *Hsiian Ho Hua P'u*, in which the painters represented in his collection were classified and briefly characterized. The Emperor was, as is well known, an enthusiastic supporter of the Taoists; the longer he lived, the more he became involved in the phantasmal experiments and speculations of the Taoist doctors. To what extent such views inspired his own artistic activity, is a question that here may be left open, but it may be observed that they find interesting expression in the *Hsiian Ho Hua P'u*. In this publication the pictures are divided into ten different classes or categories, of which the first one is devoted to *Taoist and Buddhist* painters, and is introduced by the following remarks:

"The aim of the Taoists is to acquire virtue, to rely on kindness and to find recreation in the arts.³ That is their art. He who sets himself on the path cannot forget the fine arts; on the contrary, he finds special enjoyment in them. Painting is also one of the arts. When one approaches the wonderful one knows not whether art is *Tao* or *Tao* is art. Thus Tzū Ch'in cut the baton [for beating the drum] and Lun Pien made the wheel⁴ [according to *Tao*] in the same way the ancients painted scholars. They made people look at these with reverence, and as people looked at the images, they realised the virtues of the models. That cannot be called a small advantage."

The manner of expression in the above quotation may appear rather vague, but the general meaning of it seems to be that cultivation of *Tao* is a preparation for enjoyment and understanding of art. The standpoint is the same as that already defined by Chang Yen-yüan, though expressed with more emphasis in regard to Taoist virtues and the essential unity between *Tao* and art.

* * *

But even when the name of the Taoists or their vocabulary is not actually used, the ideas are often of pure Taoist origin. The interpretation offered by the subsequent writers of *ch'i yün*, the vivifying breath or soul in painting, is often of a no less Taoistic kind than it was with Chang Yen-yüan. The following words by Kuo Jo-hsü, the leading critic of the Northern Sung period, are interesting in this connection:

"The definition of the essentials of the Six Principles has not changed since ancient times. The structural use of the brush and the four following principles may be acquired by study, but the spirit-resonance (*ch'i-yün*) must be inborn in the painter. It can certainly not be acquired by skill or dexterity, nor can one arrive at it through months and years of study. It is secretly blended with the soul; one does not know how, yet it is there."

³ This phrase is a free quotation from *Analects*, Book VII, 6. Legge translates it as follows: "Let the will be set on the path of duty. Let every attainment in what is good be firmly grasped. Let perfect virtue be accorded with. Let relaxation and enjoyment be found in polite arts."

⁴ Tzū Ch'in and Lun Pien are master artisans quoted by Chuang-tzū as examples of men who knew how to work in accordance with *Tao*.

Practically the same statement is repeated by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, the well-known critic and painter of the Ming period, who writes: "Among the Six Principles of painting the first one is spirit-resonance and life-movement. Spirit resonance cannot be acquired by study; it is inborn as a gift of heaven. Yet, some of it may be learned. When one has studied thousands of books and walked ten thousands of miles and freed oneself from the dirt and dust of the world, beautiful sceneries will naturally arise in the mind and the outlines drawn by the brush will transmit the spirit of the landscapes." Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's words reflect his position as a prominent representative of the so-called literary school (*wén-jén hua*), but they contain also the confirmation of the previously mentioned conception of *ch'i yün* as a heavenly gift, or the flower of genius, which cannot be forced into bloom by skill or technical accomplishments, even though it must be cultivated in a soil of high moral and intellectual ingredients.

Many of the critics have also dwelt in particular on this point, *i.e.* on the correspondance between the spirit-resonance and the general culture of the painter, and what they have written in this connection is often of the greatest importance for a proper understanding of the artist's ideals, but only a few remarks can here be quoted. Kuo Jo-hsü, the Sung critic, writes: "Most of the master-pieces of old were done by high officials, great and virtuous men, hermits and scholars, who devoted themselves to painting in order to express the deepest, loftiest and most beautiful concepts. Since their characters were high and noble, they could not but reach *ch'i yün*, and when this resonance of the spirit was strong, it was naturally followed by *shéng-tung*, the movement of life. It is like the old saying: 'the spirit of the spirit which reveals the very essence.'"

Modern critics may find such statements somewhat naive or commonplace; yet, even in European art-history some of the greatest men exemplify the Chinese ideals of the great masters as sages and seers, detached from the entanglements of the dusty world. According to them, significance or excellence in art cannot be acquired without the manifestation of similar qualities in the life of the painter; but how these are to be defined is another question which will be more or less illustrated by some of the following quotations. Quite interesting in this respect are some of the remarks of Li Jih-hua (1565-1635), who says among other things (in quoting a friend): "If the man is not of a high class, he uses the ink without a proper method. The painter must start with an open mind, free from all impediments. Then the effects of vapours and clouds and the colouring should be worked out naturally in harmony with the living spirit of heaven and earth, and wonderful things will take shape, as by magic, under the brush. But if the thoughts of the world are buzzing in the mind and not completely washed out, one will arrive, in spite of daily contemplation of hills and valleys and continuous copying of great pictures, at something which hardly can be distinguished from the laborious works of varnishers and masons."

He repeats the statement of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, that *ch'i-yün* is something inborn in the painter, and says that "it is in a state of

emptiness and tranquility that ideas are born. Qualities of decorative refinement, on the other hand, are of an objective kind. What interest have they for superior people, even though they may be conveyed with great skill and strength?" And he adds in another connection: "The point of greatest importance is to carry in the heart what one is going to express; then it will be right."

A contemporary of Li Jih-hua, the painter Ku Ning-yüan, offers a rather different interpretation of *ch'i-yün*. He says: "Among the Six Principles of Painting *ch'i-yün shéng tung* is the first. When there is *ch'i-yün* there is also *shéng tung*. The *ch'i-yün* may be either within or without the general conditions (or sceneries). It may be found in the seasonal aspects, in the cold and the warm, in the clear days or in the rain, in the darkness or in the brightness, it does not simply consist in adding on ink." If we are to accept these words by Ku Ning-yüan on their face value, it must be admitted that *ch'i-yün* is not only a subjective quality or a flash of genius but also something which reveals itself in the outward circumstances; it becomes the living spirit of the motifs themselves. However this may be, whether this mysterious quality comes directly from heaven or is transmitted by the soul of the artist, it is the thing which imparts life and significance to the pictures. This is illustrated in a more practical way by T'ang Chih-ch'i, another critic of the Ming period, who mentions a picture of a cat, which could be used for driving away the rats, or a picture of Kuan-yin crossing the sea, which could calm the waves, or the dotting in the eyes of the dragon, which made the dragon fly away. "That is what may be called spirit-resonance and life movement"—marvellous qualities, indeed, but rather beyond the limits of intellectual definitions. We fully agree with the same author's remark: "This may all be understood in the silence but cannot be properly explained in words."

This comprehension of *ch'i-yün*, is after all not very far from Lao-tzü's definition of *Tao* as "something vague and impalpable, yet within it there is a vital principle, and this principle is the quint-essence of reality; out of it comes truth." And as *Tao* is "the Way of Heaven, which is not to strive and yet to know how to overcome," so the spirit-resonance in art cannot be reached by planning and deliberation, but results from a deep and complete harmony with Nature, spiritual as well as material: "The old painters worked in the same way as the Buddha explained the law; he spoke simply from inspiration, without any effort. . . . Both heaven and men listened to him with fear, and nobody had any criticism to offer. In painting one should not seek for the strange, nor be tied by the rules," writes Li Jih-hua.

The brush-strokes must be the vehicle of the spirit-resonance and the life-movement; they form the nerves of the work as well as its bones and body. If there is no strength of brush-work, the picture falls dead. Because in Chinese painting the brush-stroke is the immediate vehicle of the creative impulse; it must be done spontaneously, without hesitation, it allows of no correction or elaboration during a gradual process of work. Consequently the mastery of the brush has been the main concern of all the painters, and the critics never fail to point out its supreme importance, often emphasiz-

ing the fact that nobody can become a great painter without being a good calligraphist.

"The works of painting are created in the mind and (thrown out) disclosed at the point of the brush. In a mysterious fashion the illusion of the shape of things is produced which is enough to startle mens' emotions and arouse the greatness of their souls," writes Tu Ch'iung, a landscape painter of the Ming period. His better known contemporary, T'ang Yin, draws a still closer parallel between writing and painting: "All those who are good in writing are also good in painting, because they are turning their wrist and moving their brush without restraint. . . . Finished (or detailed) paintings are like writing in pattern style (*k'ai shu*); sketchy paintings (*hsieh-i*) are like grass writings (*ts'ao shu*). It all depends on how the brush is kept and how easily and wonderfully the wrist is moved."

This parallelism between painting and calligraphy is too well known to need any further elucidation. In both arts the expression or significance is preeminently a matter of the brush-strokes; "in both one must then and there (when starting the brush) establish the First Cause (the inspiring thought) and then by further execution put on visible strength," to use the words of Li Jih-hua. The same critic describes the technique of painting as follows:

"In painting one must understand how to take and how to give. To take means to represent a general likeness, to catch it with the brush. And this is not a matter of strength but depends on the mysterious turning (sweep) of the brush, the right interruption and continuation of the strokes. If one moves the brush quite straight, one will fall into the fault of wooden stiffness. To give means that the thought is carried on, even though the strokes are interrupted, as in representations of vast and empty mountains or of trees without branches. All is there by (or in) that which is not there." And so on. "From this we may know, that the least drop of ink which falls on the paper is no small matter." True, indeed, the slightest touch, the faintest movement in the wrist, the lightest pressure on the brush are of importance and may become fatal for the general appearance and expressiveness of the work.

The painter must be the master of his technical means, not their slave. He should not be bound by rules, nor strive for a dexterity which carries him beyond the natural. "There is a difference between over-maturity and perfect (or sufficient) maturity. When perfectly matured one can still be natural," writes Ku Ning-hua, and he illustrates his point furthermore by the following:

"When students of painting start on their career, they are tied by the rules, whereas good men, modest women and children who try to write, express quite naturally the inspiration of heaven. They fear the criticism of people who look at their works; yet, although everything may not be quite alike in them, there is something which famous men cannot give." A remark which might have been made by the most modern advocate of primitive or naive art, but which gains a still greater significance when expressed by a representative of one of the most accomplished and traditional art-schools in the world.

The primary thing is not the skill, but that which is behind it: "When an inspiring idea precedes the brush-work, the finished picture will become strong, dignified and well-balanced. Then it does not depend on searching for skill but becomes wonderful by itself. Modern painters try to work out things by skill; they get the expression of the objects but not that of heaven," to quote Tu Lung, a critic of the Wan Li era. Or, as expressed by Tung Yu, a well known writer of the Sung period: "If the painter is to reach spiritual expression, he must give an original interpretation and avoid the traditional. It is not enough to copy shapes and lay on colours. That is like taking off the clothes and to sit crosslegged instead of lying down to rest, which enables one to move freely afterwards."

It is all a matter of the painter's mental attitude and all what it involves of character, vision and experience. When his consciousness is in perfect harmony with that of Nature, or the great Creator, as in the case of Wu Tao-tzü, then the great mystery may be accomplished: "He who acts in accordance with *Tao*, becomes one with *Tao*: and he who is one with *Tao* knows the truth."

Such was the fundamental attitude of the Chinese painters, which remained essentially the same all through the ages, even though differently expressed. It was based on the spiritual traditions of the people and, wherever similar spiritual traditions prevailed, as in Buddhist India, or in other countries of Eastern Asia, the conception of art was similar. The endeavour of the artist was to identify himself completely with the essence of his motif, the indwelling spirit or life, and to reveal it in symbols of visual shapes. Something of the same attitude may also be found in mediæval European art, but (as remarked by Dr. Coomaraswamy) "whereas Europe has only rarely and rather unconsciously subscribed to this first truth about art, Asia has consistently and consciously acted in awareness that the goal is only reached when the knower and the known, subject and object, are identified in one experience."

The principle is applicable to every kind of art, be it religious or profane, figure or landscape painting; the motif has no importance in this respect, it is the intensity of the realisation, the completeness of the unity between the artist and the soul of the motive, which imparts aesthetic significance to the work.

* * *

Our starting point in discussing these general aims and ideals of the Chinese painters were the so-called Six Principles of Hsieh Ho, which were formulated at a period when Chinese painting was still preeminently a figurative and symbolic art, largely serving moral and practical ends. This was no longer the case in the Sung period and later times, yet, the Six Principles were still accepted as essentially true. Only, things were done and appreciated from a different point of view; painting became more intimately linked with poetry and literature and was detached from all practical aims. This is illustrated in the great school of landscape painting at the beginning of the Sung period, and perhaps still more convincingly by the gentleman-painters of Su Tung-p'o's and Mi Fei's class, not to speak of their followers in the Yüan and Ming periods, who formed what

has been called the literary mens' school of painting. All these different classes of painters and their friends and critics have left interesting writings about their art, which contain much valuable material for a proper understanding of Chinese painting. The abundance of the material makes it hard to select the points which are of greatest interest for Western art-historians.

The treatise on landscape painting attributed to Ching Hao, a painter of the 10th century, was certainly not written by himself, but it reflects his ideas, and it has the interesting form of a dialogue between an old hermit and a young painter who meets the old man during his rambles in the mountains. He questions the old man whether painting consists in representing beautiful things with absolute faithfulness, and obtains the answer: "It is not so. . . . One should not take outward beauty for reality; he who does not understand this mystery, will not obtain the truth, even though his pictures may contain likeness." The painter asks again: "What is likeness and what is truth?" The old man replies: "Likeness can be obtained by shapes without spirit, but when truth is reached both spirit and substance are fully expressed. He who tries to express spirit through ornamental beauty will make dead things."

The dialogue then goes on with interesting remarks about spirit, harmony, thoughts, scenery and brush-work, which all are essential in good painting, and then the old man offers the following classification of painters: "There are divine, wonderful, clever and skillful painters. The divine does not force his intentions, but operates spontaneously, thus accomplishing the forms. The wonderful experiences in his mind the dispositions and emotions of everything in heaven and earth and then, in accordance with reason and the kind of subject, the forms flow out of his brush." (He may be a man of great knowledge, but he works intellectually, in a more limited way than those who create spontaneously in accordance with the operations of nature). "The clever [or astounding] painter draws vast outlines which are not in accordance with the truth of the motif; the things he makes are strange and queer and quite out of reason. This is the result of brush-work without thought." (He is the technical virtuoso, highly accomplished but without the inspiring force and guiding reason which distinguish the two superior classes of painters). "The skilful painter carves out and pieces together scraps of beauty, seemingly in accordance with the great principles. He forces the drawing and exaggerates arbitrarily both spirit and form. It may be said that the inner reality is not enough to him, as he makes such a display of the florid ornamental." (He is the kind of painter who borrows from everywhere and has nothing of his own to communicate; his works are insignificant or "as dirty plaster on the wall").

In the continuation of the dialogue the wise old man says that there are two different kinds of faults in painting, *i.e.* those appertaining to the shapes, and those which are independent of the shapes. The former do not affect the pictures as works of art, but the latter, which are caused by absence of spirit-resonance, make the pictures queer and dead in spite of all efforts with the brush. "Such clumsy pictures cannot be corrected." This reminds us of Su Tung-p'o's

statement: "Misrepresentation in form does not necessarily mean that the whole thing is bad, but if the constant principle is not properly expressed, the whole picture is deplorable. . . . Sometimes mere artisans may represent perfect forms, but they will never be able to give the constant principle. That can be done only by superior men and gifted scholars." Su Tung-p'o's constant principle, or inherent reason of things, is simply another name for the spiritual import, fitness or resonance, but before we dwell on his attitude towards art, a few more points may still be gathered from the writings of the landscape painters.

Ching Hao's classification of the divine, the wonderful, the clever and the skilled painters reveals practically the same standards of appreciation as those put forth by Hsieh Ho, though more specifically expressed with a view to the technical or formal qualities of the paintings. The other well known treatise of the Northern Sung period is the so-called *Lin Ch'ian Kao Chih* (The Great Message of Forest and Stream), which is based on sayings by Kuo Hsi and edited by his son Kuo Ssü. It is of a more periphrastic kind containing a mixture of geographical and scientific observations, practical advice for landscape painters and general expositions of the artistic psychology. We can only quote a few of the last in this connection:

"Whatever motif the painter represents, be it large, small, complicated or simple, he should do it by concentrating on its essential nature. If something of the essential is lacking, the soul is not manifest. He must do his work with his whole soul; if he does not work with his whole soul, the essential will not be clear. He must be severe and respectful in his work, otherwise it will lack depth of thought. He must apply zeal and reverence to complete it, otherwise the picture will not be properly finished. . . .

"On the days when my father was going to paint, he placed himself at a bright window before a clean table and burned incense right and left. He took a fine brush and the most excellent ink, washed his hands and cleaned the ink stone as if to receive an important guest. He let the thoughts settle in his soul, and then he worked. Is not this what he meant by not to work in the hurry of excitement? What he had planned, he would remove; what he had put in, he would modify, not only once or twice but over and over again. Each picture had to be done over from the beginning to the end, as if he was fighting a severe enemy; then only was it finished. Is not this what he meant by not working in a sluggish and careless way?"

In another chapter of his essay, called *Ideas for Painting* (*Hua I*), Kuo Hsi says: "The men of the world think that pictures are made simply by moving the brush, they do not understand that painting is no easy matter. Chuang-tzü said: 'The painter takes off his clothes and sits cross-legged'—a true statement about the painter's ways. The artist must nourish in his heart gentleness and cheerfulness; his ideas must be quiet and harmonious, or as said (in the *Li Chi*): 'The heart should be quiet, honest and sincere to the utmost,' then the various aspects of man's gladness and sorrow and of every other thing . . . will appear naturally in his mind and be spontaneously brought out by his brush."

"Ku K'ai-chih of the Chin dynasty constructed for himself a high building as a studio for painting; he was, indeed, a wise man of ancient times. If one does not act in this way, the inspiration will soon be restrained, distracted, dulled or obstructed, and how could one then represent in painting the appearance of things and of emotions?" This insistence on a complete detachment from outward material conditions and on an absolute tranquillity or emptiness of the mind is really the leading note in Kuo Hsi's analysis of the painter's psychology. He returns to it several times in various terms almost with the same emphasis as the writers and philosophers who belonged to the Dhyanā or Zen school of Buddhism. It is a precondition for the painter's self-identification with the soul of his motif, his becoming at one with its spiritual import.

The work by which this inner form or significance is made manifest in a painting must not be forced or hurried. It cannot be accomplished when the body is tired or the mind distracted, because then the picture will become weak, sketchy, or loose. Kuo Ssü gives a vivid description of the severity of the task, and makes us realize that the final picture which may have the appearance of being thrown down lightly, is the result of a long struggle not only with the brush and the ink but also in matters of character, circumstances and mode of life. The quotation from Chuang-tzū: "The painter takes off his clothes and sits cross-legged," implies evidently the advice that he should divest himself of all exterior influences and strive for absolute mental equipoise; then, "when the mind is in repose, it becomes the mirror of the universe, the speculum of all creation," to use a further quotation from Chuang-tzū.

Yet these men knew full well that a contemplative state of mind, or the knowledge of *Tao*, was not sufficient for creating works of art, as pointed out by Su Tung-p'o: "There are men who possess *Tao* and possess art, others who possess *Tao* but do not have art; although the things take form in their hearts, they do not take shape under their hands." The *Tao* of art was, after all, a path that only the few and select could tread; it demanded not only the creative vision but also control of its expression.

It is, however, most significant that the writers and painters talk much less about the forms or symbols than about the inspiring forces behind them. The men of Su Tung-p'o's and Mi Fei's class (as well as their followers in the Yüan period) did their best to conceal or to make light of their technical skill; they were afraid of being considered professional painters. Painting was to them like the humming of melodies, an expression of joy or sorrow, that was given vent when it could not be suppressed. "When my dry bowels are refreshed with wine, the rapid strokes begin to flow, and from the flushed liver and lungs the bamboos and the stones are born. They grow in abundance and cannot be suppressed," writes Su Tung-p'o. In another connection he quotes the following words by his admired friend Wēn T'ung (*tzü* Yü-k'o): "In former years I studied *Tao*, but could not reach it; I found no peace of mind and could not accomplish it. Therefore I simply went on painting bamboos, expressing through them my restlessness. Now this illness

is cured; nothing more is to be done." To which Tung-p'o adds: "As far as I can see, Yü-k'o's illness is not quite cured; it may develop again. . . ."

Even Yü-k'o, who was esteemed, not to say adored, by later generations as the greatest bamboo painter that ever lived, did not want to be considered *homme du métier*, but as a poor official who in leisure hours amused himself with painting and calligraphy. To Su Tung-p'o he was the perfect gentleman painter, "who sang his poems and painted his bamboos wherever he went."

"Among painters of the world some know how to represent form but the inherent reason of things [or constant principle] can only be grasped by gentlemen and geniuses. In Yü-k'o's paintings of bamboo, rocks and decaying trees this reason is certainly to be found. Some of them seem as if alive, some like dead, some are warped like fists, etc. . . . Each thing is at its proper place, in accordance with nature's creations, and satisfies the thoughts of man, because it expresses the gentleman spirit."

The gentleman's spirit or character was symbolized by the bamboo; it combined the suppleness and strength of these wonderful plants; it appeared sometimes cold and stern, but it was also gentle and supple. He could curve and bend under the sharp winds of misfortune without flinching from his ideals. Such is the theme of several of Su Tung-p'o's poems written in memory of his regretted friend, whom he considered an ideal both in art and in life. The secret of his art was in his complete self-identification with the things he painted, as explained by Su Tung-p'o in the following paraphrase:

"When Yü-k'o painted bamboos he was conscious only of the bamboos and not of himself as a man. Not only was he unconscious of his human form, but sick at heart, he left his own body and was thus transformed into bamboos of inexhaustible freshness and purity. As there is no more a Chuang-tzū in the world, who can understand such a concentration of the spirit?"

And who can explain such a mystery of complete identification of the artist with his motive? No wonder that Su Tung-p'o, in another connection, makes a friend of his exclaim: "I can live without meat, but not without bamboo paintings."

The most exhaustive eulogy of Wén T'ung's art was, however, composed in the Yüan period by Li K'an, a high official who devoted most of his life to the study of every kind of bamboo and the search for paintings by Yü-k'o. He wrote a booklet called *Chu P'u* (Bamboo essay), which contains some interesting observations as to the proper way of painting bamboo, based on a close study of the works by Wén T'ung and Su Tung-p'o. Some quotations from it may serve to throw added light on the attitude and ideals of these Sung painters:

"In order to paint bamboos it is necessary to grasp the whole thing first completely in the mind. Then seize the brush, concentrate the attention, fix your eyes on the model and write it down quickly. Move the brush, go on, follow what you see, as the buzzard swoops when the hare jumps out. One moment's hesitation may defeat your work."

"Every stroke must be replete with a living thought; every side look natural. When the whole thing is rounded off (as if standing

free) and the branches and leaves are moving, then the bamboo is accomplished."

The ideal, as expressed by Li K'an, to possess the thing completely in the mind and then to make it live by means of the brush-strokes, was not limited to bamboo painting; it was the aim of all good painting in China, which by its very nature and technique stood closer to the inexhaustible fountains of life than the pictorial arts of Western countries.

Su Tung-p'o professed a deep indifference to the outward resemblance, if the pictures carried some inner meaning. Quite a number of his poems and colophons turn around this point. Thus he wrote for instance in his two poems on a flower painting by Secretary Wang from Yen-ling:

"Those who criticize pictures as forms are like children, and those who compose poetry according to formal rules are no real poets. Poetry and painting follow the same laws; it is by divine inspiration that they become pure and original."

The second poem is worth quoting in its entirety: "The thin bamboos are like hermits, the lonely flowers like pure virgins. The birds are fluttering among the branches, moving the flowers, which are moist with rain. A pair of birds on the point of soaring; a rustle among the thicket of the leaves. Look how the bee is sucking, its loins are filled with honey. The painter possessed the skill of heaven: he rendered the air of spring. I think he was truly a poet; he gave the harmony and asked for a poem."

THE TECHNIQUE AND SPIRIT OF CHINESE POETRY

By LIN YU-TANG

I.

Poetry occupies a very high place in Chinese culture and life. It is cultivated more generally and more assiduously than in the West. I think I may say that poetry has entered more into the fabric of our daily life. For instance, all Chinese scholars are poets, or pretend to be, and fifty per cent. of the contents of a scholar's collected works usually consist of poetry. The Chinese imperial examinations, ever since the T'ang times, always included the composition of poems among the important tests of literary ability. Even parents who had talented daughters to give away, and sometimes the talented girls themselves, often chose their bridegrooms on the strength of a few lines of really good poetry. For the theory was one could tell a man's character from his poems. Captives often regained their freedom or received extra courtesy for their ability to write a few good lines which appealed to the men in power. For poetry is regarded as the highest literary accomplishment and the surest and easiest way of testing a man's literary skill. Moreover, Chinese painting is closely connected with Chinese poetry, being akin to it, if not essentially identical with it, in spirit and technique. Whence came this high place of poetry in Chinese life?

To my mind, poetry has taken over the function of religion in China, in so far as religion is taken to mean a cleansing of man's soul, a feeling for the mystery and beauty of the universe, and a feeling of tenderness and compassion for one's fellow-men and the humble creatures of life. Religion cannot be, and should not be, anything except an inspiration and a living emotion. The Chinese have not found this inspiration or living emotion in their religions, which to them are merely decorative patches and frills covering the seamy side of life, having largely to do with sicknesses and deaths. But they have found this inspiration and living emotion in poetry. Poetry has taught the Chinese a view of life, which through the influence of proverbs and calligraphic scrolls, has permeated society

in general, and given them a sense of compassion, an overflowing love of nature, and an attitude of artistic acceptance of life. Through its feeling for nature, it has often healed the wounds in their souls, and through its lesson of enjoyment of the simple life, it has kept a sane ideal for the Chinese civilization. Sometimes it appeals to their romanticism and gives them a vicarious emotional uplift from the humdrum workaday world, and sometimes it appeals to their feeling of sadness, resignation and restraint, and cleanses the heart through this artistic reflection of sorrow. It teaches them to listen with enjoyment to the sound of raindrops on banana-leaves, to admire the chimney smoke of cottages rising and mingling with the evening clouds nestling on a hillside, to be tender towards the white lilies on the country path, and to hear in the song of the cuckoo the longing of a son on travel for his mother at home. It gives them a kind thought for the poor tea-picking girl or for the mulberry maiden, for the secluded and forsaken lover, for the mother whose son is far away in army service, and for the common people whose lives are harassed by war. Above all, it teaches them a pantheistic union with nature, to awake and rejoice with spring, to doze off and hear time visibly flying away in the droning of the cicada in summer, to feel sad with the falling autumn leaves, and "to look for lines of poetry in snow" in winter. In this sense, poetry may well be called the Chinaman's religion. I hardly think that without their poetry, the poetry of living habits as well as the poetry of words, the Chinese people could have survived to this day.

Yet Chinese poetry would not have achieved such an important place in Chinese life without definite reasons for it. First, the Chinese artistic and literary genius, which thinks in emotional concrete imagery and excels in the painting of atmosphere, is especially suitable to the writing of poetry. Their characteristic genius for contraction, suggestion, sublimation and concentration, which unfit them for prose within the classical limits, makes the writing of poetry natural and easy to them. If, as Bertrand Russell says, "in art they aim at being exquisite, and in life at being reasonable," then it is natural for them to excel in poetry. Chinese poetry is dainty. It is never long, and never very powerful. But it is eminently fitted for producing perfect gems of sentiment and for painting with a few strokes a magical scenery, alive with rhythmic beauty and informed with spiritual grace.

The whole tenor of Chinese thought, too, encourages the writing of poetry as the highest crown of the literary art. The Chinese mind is as distinguished for aptitude in art as it is backward in science. There is a reason for it. Chinese education emphasizes the development of the all-round man, and Chinese scholarship emphasizes the unity of knowledge. Very specialized sciences, like archaeology, are few, and the Chinese archaeologists always remain human, capable of taking an interest in their family or in the pear-tree in their courtyard. Now, poetry is exactly that type of creation which calls for man's faculty of general synthesis, in other words, for man's ability to look at life as a whole. Where they lack in analysis, they achieve in synthesis.

There is yet a more important reason. Poetry is essentially thought coloured with emotion, and the Chinese think always with

emotion, and rarely with their analytical reason. It is no mere accident that the Chinese regard the belly as the seat of all their scholarship and learning, as may be seen in such expressions, "a bellyful of essays" or "of scholarship." Now, Western psychologists have proved the belly to be the seat of our emotions and as no one thinks completely without emotion, I am ready to believe that we think with our belly as well as with our head. The more emotional the type of thinking, therefore the more are the intestines responsible for one's thoughts, as in the case of women and the Chinese. What Isadora Duncan said about women's thoughts originating in the abdomen and travelling upwards, while men's thoughts originate in the head and travel downwards, is true of the Chinese. This corroborates my theory about the femininity of the Chinese mind. Whereas we say in English that a man "ransacks his brain" for ideas during a composition, we say in Chinese that he "ransacks his dry intestines" for a good line of poetry or prose. The poet Su Tung-p'o once asked his three concubines after dinner what his belly contained. The cleverest one, Ch'ao-yun, replied that he had "a bellyful of unseasonable thoughts." The Chinese can write good poetry, because they think with their intestines.

Further, there is a relation between Chinese language and poetry. The Chinese language is crisp, and poetry should be crisp. Poetry should work by suggestion, and the Chinese language is full of contractions which say more than what the words mean. Poetry should express ideas by concrete imagery, and the Chinese language revels in word-imagery. Finally, the Chinese language, with its clear-cut tones and its lack of final consonants, retains a sonorous singing quality, which has no parallel in non-tonal languages.

II.

By what inner technique did Chinese poetry enter that magic realm of beauty? How did it throw a veil of charm and atmosphere over an ordinary landscape and, with a few words, paint a striking picture of reality, surcharged with the poet's emotion? How did the poet select and eliminate his material and how did he inform it with his own spirit and make it glow with rhythmic vitality? In what way was the technique of Chinese poetry and Chinese painting really one? and why is it that Chinese poets are painters, and painters, poets?

To begin with elementary things, *viz.*, the art of producing a picture with five or seven words, as Chinese painters paint a horse with a few swift and sure rhythmic strokes. The analogy between Chinese poetry and painting is almost complete. Let us begin with perspective. Why is it that when we read the lines of Li Po (701-762)—

Above the man's face arise the hills;
Beside the horse's head emerge the clouds,

we are presented with a picture in bold outline of a man travelling on horseback on a high mountain path? The words, short and sharp and meaningless at first sight, will be found, with a moment's use of the imagination, to give us a picture as a painter would paint it on his canvas, and conceal a trick of perspective by using some objects

in the foreground (the man's face and the horse's head) to set off the distant view. Entirely apart from the poetic feeling that the man is so high up in the mountains, one realizes that the scenery was looked at by the poet as if it were a piece of painting on a flat surface. The reader would then see, as he actually sees in paintings or snapshots, that hilltops seem to rise from the man's face and the clouds nestling somewhere in the distance form a line broken by the horse's head. This clearly was not possible if the poet was on horseback and the clouds lying on a lower level in the distance. In the end, the reader has to imagine himself on horseback on a high mountain path and view the scene from the same perspective as the poet did.

In this way, and really through this trick of perspective, these pen-pictures gain a bold relief impossible with other methods. Hundreds of examples might be cited, although it cannot be said that the Chinese poets were conscious of the theory of this technique. They had in any case found the technique itself. With this technique of perspective, Wang Wei (699-759), probably China's greatest descriptive poet, said:

In the mountains a night of rain.
And above the trees a hundred springs.

Of course it requires a little effort to imagine "springs on tree-tops" (which are the exact words in the original), but exactly because such a perspective is so rare and can only be found when high mountain gorges, forming, after last night's rainfall, a series of cascades in the distance, appear above the outline of some trees in the foreground, the reader gains a clear perspective otherwise impossible. As with the former example from Li Po, the art lies in the selection of an object in the foreground to set it off against the objects in the distance, like clouds, cascades, hilltops and the Milky Way, and then paint these together *on a flat surface*. Thus Liu Yu-hsi (772-842) wrote:

(For an) autumn scene: several dots of hills over the wall.

The picture technique here is perfect: the hilltops appearing as several "dots" over the wall give one a stereoscopic sense of distance from the hills. On the other hand, the sense of elevation is conveyed in the following manner by Ch'en Ts'an (middle of eighth century):

Low appears the Ch'in Peak beyond the railing,
And small the River Wei before the window.

The poet could obtain this perspective only by staying in some high mountain loft, where as he looked out over the verandah, even a mountain peak appeared a few inches below the top of the railing. The use of a window or a door as a convenient set-off in the second line, common with photographers, was quite popular with Chinese poets. Thus wrote Shen Ch'üan-ch'i (latter part of seventh century):

Near appears the mountain moon by the window,
And low the Milky Way within the door.

Here the word "low" should be taken to refer literally to the position of the Milky Way on the canvas, if a painter were to paint it.

This technique was carried still further when the poet Li Ch'üan-yu (middle of ninth century) spoke of:

A whole screenful of spring water, a windowful of hills.

Here both the river and the hills in the distance enter the poet-painter's mind like objects strictly on the perpendicular surface of the bamboo screen, which was the poet's canvas. In this sense, we can understand Li Li-wêng (seventeenth century), when he says in one of his dramatic works:

First we look at the hills in the painting,
Then we look at the painting in the hills.

The poet's eye is the painter's eye, and painting and poetry become one.

This affinity between painting and poetry is all the more natural and apparent when we consider not only their similarity of technique, but also their similarity of themes, and the fact that the title of a painting is often actually a line taken from some verse. In any case, the painter after finishing his painting usually writes a verse at the top in those vacant spaces characteristic of Chinese paintings. Poetry and painting are but expressions of the same human spirit. If the poet learns perspective from the painter, the latter learns impressionism, suggestion and atmosphere from poetry. This is their striking similarity. Both are impressionistic in method, both use suggestion, and both have as their aim the achieving of a certain atmosphere.

The impressionistic technique is a technique which gives a series of impressions, vivid and unforgettable, and leaves merely a flavour, an indefinable feeling behind, which awakes the reader's sense, but does not satisfy his understanding. Chinese poetry is consummate in the art of sublimation, suggestion and artistic restraint. The poet does not try to say all he has to say. His business is but to evoke a picture, making a pen sketch by a few swift, clear strokes.

Hence arose the great school of pastoral poets, specializing in landscape paintings and using the impressionistic technique. Such masters in pastoral poetry are T'ao Yüan-ming (372-427), Hsieh Ling-yün (385-438), Wang Wei (679-759) and Wei Ying-wu (740-830), but the technique is practically universal with Chinese poets. Of Wang Wei (perhaps better known as Wang Mo-ch'i), it is said that "there is poetry in his painting and painting in his poetry," because Wang was a great painter himself. His *Wang-ch'uan-chi* is nothing but a collection of pastoral landscapes. A poem like the following can only be written by one inspired by the spirit of Chinese painting:

Amidst the mist-like autumn showers,
Shallow the stony rapids flow;
Its sprays besprinkle one another,
Up and down the egrets go.

—*The Luan-chia Rapids.*

The evoking of a mood is best seen in the following song describing a night in a houseboat in the outskirts of Soochow, by Wei Ying-wu:

The moon descends, the birds are crowing,
and there's frost in the sky;
Some maples on the river, some fisherman's
lights, and facing Sorrow I lie,
As from the Han-shan Temple in the suburbs of
Soochow at midnight,
Floats the sound of temple bells to the travel-
ler's boat darkly by.

Here the word sketch differs from a pen-and-ink drawing only in the intrinsic superiority of the poetic art in suggesting sounds.

And here we come to the problem of suggestion. Some modern western painter has attempted the impossible by trying to paint "the sound of sunshine going upstairs," but the problem of artistic limitations has been partly overcome by Chinese painters by the use of suggestion, really developed by the poetic art. One can actually paint sounds and smell by the method of suggestion. A Chinese painter would paint the sound of temple bells without showing the bells at all on the canvas, but possibly by merely showing the top of a temple roof hidden among trees, and the effect of the sound on men's and children's faces. Interesting is the Chinese method of Chinese poets in suggesting smell, which lends itself to pictorial handling. Thus a Chinese poet describing the fragrance of the open country would write:

Coming back over flowers, fragrant are the horse's hoofs.

Nothing would be easier than painting a flock of butterflies flitting after the horse's hoofs, which is what a Chinese painter actually did. By the same technique of suggestion, the poet Liu Yu-hsi wrote about the fragrance of a court lady:

In her new dress, she comes from her vermilion towers;
The light of spring floods the palace which Sorrow embowers.
To the court she comes, and on her carved jade hair-pin
Alights a dragon-fly, as she is counting the flowers.

The lines suggest to the reader the beauty and fragrance both of the carved jade hair-pin and of the lady herself, a beauty and fragrance which deceived the dragon-fly.

From this impressionistic technique of suggestion arose that method of suggesting thought and sentiments which we call symbolic thinking. The poet suggests ideas, not by verbose statements, but by evoking a mood which puts the reader in that train of thought. Such thoughts are as indefinable as the scene which evokes them is clear and vivid. A picturesque scenery is then used to suggest certain thoughts very much in the same way as certain chords in the Wagnerian operas are used to suggest the entrance of certain characters. Logically, there is little connection between the scenery and the man's inner thoughts, but symbolically and emotionally, there is. This method, called "*hsing*" or evocation, is as ancient as the *Book of Poetry*. In T'ang poetry, for instance, the passing of a fallen dynasty is variously expressed by such symbolic method, without mentioning the thoughts themselves. Thus Wei Chuang sang of the past glories of Nanking in the following manner in his poem "*On a Painting of Chin-ling*":

The rain on the river is mist-like, and the grass on the banks is high.
The Six Dynasties passed like a dream, and forlorn's the birds' cry.
Most heartless of all are the willows on the Tai-ch'eng bank,
Even now in a three-mile green, lurid resplendour they lie.

The scene of the three-mile-long willow-overgrown embankment was enough to remind his contemporaries of the past glories of Ch'en Hou-chu in his most glorious days, and the mention of the "heartless willows" strikes a contrast between human vicissitudes and nature's serenity. By the same technique, Po Chu-yi (772-846) expressed his sadness over the past glories of T'ang Ming-huang and Yang Kwei-wei by merely drawing a picture of white-haired, old imperial chambermaids gossiping in a deserted palace, without of course going into the details of their discourse:

Quite empty is the country palace, empty like a dream,
 In loneliness and quiet the red imperial flowers gleam.
 Some white-haired palace chambermaids are chatting,
 Chatting about the dead and gone Hsüan-chuang regime.

In the same way, Liu Yü-hsi sang about the decay of the Black-gown Alley, which once was the home of the great Wang and Hsieh families:

Now by the Redsparrow Bridge wild grass are growing,
 And on the Blackgown Alley the ev'ning sun is glowing,
 And the swallows which once graced the Wang and Hsieh halls.
 Now feed in common people's homes.....without their knowing.

I come now to the most important point of Chinese poetry, its pantheism. Its technique lies of course in the investment of natural objects with human actions, qualities and emotions, not by direct personification, but by cunning metaphors, like "idle flowers," "the sad wind," "the chaffing parrot," etc. The metaphors in themselves are nothing: the poetry consists in the poet spreading his emotion over the scenery and compelling it by the force of his emotion to live and share his own joys and sorrows. For this is the most central problem of poetry, as of all art, the *Einfühlung*, or investing a dead picture with the poet's own emotion, or casting a halo of emotion over the material reality. This is clearest in the above example, where the three-mile long gay and green willows are referred to as "heartless" because they did not, as they ought to, remember Ch'en Hou-chu and share the poet's feeling of poignant regret. Once travelling with a poet-friend, our bus passed a small secluded hillside, with just a single cottage, with all doors closed and a solitary peach-tree in full blossom standing idly in front, apparently wasting its fragrant glory on a deserted valley. I still remember the last two lines of the quatrain which my friend sketched in his note-book:

The farmer couple to the fields have gone,
 And dead bored are the flowers outside its doors.

What is achieved, then, is a poetic feeling for the peach-tree, supposed to be capable of being "bored" to death, which borders on pantheism. The same technique, or rather attitude, is extremely common in all good Chinese poetry. So did, for instance, Li Po begin one of his best poems:

Late at twilight I passed the verdant hills,
 And the mountain moon followed me home.

Or, in one of his best-known poems, "*Drinking Alone under the Moon*":

A pot of wine amidst the flowers,
 Alone I drink *sans* company.
 The moon I invite as drinking friend,
 And with my shadow we are three.

The moon, I see, she does not drink,
 My shadow only follows me:
 I'll keep them company a while,
 For spring's the time for gayety.

I sing: the moon she paces about;
 I dance: my shadow swells and sways.
 We sport together while awake,
 While drunk, we all go our own ways.
 An eternal speechless trio then,
 Till in the clouds we meet again.

This is more than a metaphor: it is a poetic faith of union with nature, which makes life itself pulsate with human emotions.

The expression of this pantheism or fellowship with nature is best illustrated in Tu Fu's "*Quatrains on Sundry Moods*," showing successively a humanizing of nature, a tender feeling for its mishaps, a sheer delight in its contact, and finally a complete union with it. So goes the first stanza:

I see the traveller's unwaking sorrow.
The vagabond spring's come in a clatter.
Too profusely rich are the flowers,
Too garrulous the parrots' chatter.

The words "vagabond," "garrulous," and "chatter" here indirectly invest the spring and the parrots with a human quality. Then he lodges a complaint against the brutal winds of last night, which "bullied" the peach and pear-trees in his yard:

My hand-grown pear-trees are not orphans,
The old man's low walls are like their house!
But the spring wind thought fit to bully them,
Last night it broke some of their boughs!

This tender feeling for the trees is repeated in the last stanza:

Weak and tender is the willow next door,
Like a fifteen-year-old maiden's waist.
Who would have thought this morning that it happened,
The wind did break its longest bough, its best!

Once more, the willows dancing gayly before the wind are referred to as *abandonée*, and the peach-blossoms which carelessly drop and float on the water wherever it might carry them are regarded as women of fickle character in the fifth stanza:

I deeply rue the passing of spring,
And on a cane I pace the scented isle.
Before the winds dance the wanton willows,
And on the water the petulous petals smile.

This pantheistic outlook sometimes loses itself in a sheer delight in contact with worms and flying insects as in the third stanza. But we may take an example from a Sung poet, Yeh Li, who wrote on "*A Scene in Late Spring*":

Pair by pair, little swallows on the bookshelves they hop.
Dot by dot, little petals on the ink-slab they drop.
Reading the *Book of Changes* I sit near a window,
Forgetful how much longer will spring with us stop.

This subjectivity of outlook, coupled with an infinitely tender feeling for the birds and animals enables Tu Fu to speak of the "clenching fists" of white egrets resting on the sand bank, and of the "striking fins" of jumping fish near his boat. The use of the word "fists" for the egrets' claws is then not merely a literary metaphor, for the poet has so identified himself with them that he probably feels the clenching himself and wishes his readers to share this emotional insight with him. Here we do not see the scientist's minute observation of details, but rather the poet's keenness which comes from love, as sharp as a lover's eyes, and as unfailing and correct as a mother's intuition. A man must be indeed more or less intoxicated with nature to write the following lines (by Ch'êng Ngô) about the lotus flower, suggestive of Heine:

Lightly dips her green bonnet,
When a zephyr past her has blown;
Red and naked she shows herself,
When she is sure of being alone.

III.

This review of the two sides of the poetic technique, regarding its treatment of scenery (*ching*) and emotion (*ch'ing*) enables us to understand the spirit of Chinese poetry and its cultural value to the nation. This cultural value is twofold, corresponding to the broad classification of Chinese poetry into the two types: (1) *hao fang* (豪放) poetry, or poetry of romantic abandonment, carefree, given to a life of emotion, and expressing a revolt against the restraints of society and teaching a profound love of nature, and (2) *wan yieh* (婉約) poetry, or poetry of artistic restraint, tender, resigned, sad and yet without anger, teaching a lesson of contentment and the love of one's fellowmen, especially the poor and downtrodden, and inculcating a hatred of war.

The first type is best represented by Li Po, China's prince of vagabond poets, with his drink, his dread of officialdom, his companionship with the moon, his love of high mountain scenery, and his constant aspiration:

Oh, could I but hold a celestial sword
And stab a whale across the seas!

Tu Fu says of Li Po:

With a jar of wine, Li makes a hundred poems,
He sleeps in an inn of Ch'ang-an city,
The emperor sent for him and he'd not move,
Saying, "I'm the God of Wine, Your Majesty!"

Li Po's romanticism ended finally in his death from reaching for the shadow of the moon in the water in a drunken fit and falling overboard. Good, infinitely good, that the staid and apparently unfeeling Chinese could sometimes reach for the shadow of the moon and die such a poetic death! The second type is best represented by Tu Fu, with his quiet humour, his restraint, his tenderness toward the poor and oppressed, and his unconcealed hatred of war. Among the first type may be classified Ch'ü Yuan (343-290 B.C.), the pastoral poets like T'ao Yuan-ming, Hsieh Ling-yün, Wang Wei, Mēng Hao-jan (689-740), the crazy monk Han-shan (around the year 900), while nearer Tu Fu are Tu Mu (803-852), Po Chü-yi, Yüan Chén (779-831) and the greatest poetess of China, Li Ch'ing-chao (1081-1141?). No strict classification is of course possible, while there was a third group of sentimental poets, like Li Ho (Li Ch'ang-chi, 790-816), Li Shang-yin (813-858) and his contemporary Wēn T'ing-yün, Ch'en Hou-chu (ruler of Ch'en in 583-589) and Na-lan Hsing-teh (a Manchu, 1655-1685), most distinguished for their love lyrics.

Well it is that the Chinese have poets like Li Po who teaches us this love of nature which constitutes the poetry of their existence, and which overflows from the fullness of their hearts into literature. It has taught the Chinese a more widespread love of birds and flowers than among the common folk of other nations. I have seen how a Chinese crowd got excited at the sight of a caged bird, which made them childish and good-humoured again, and broke down the barriers

of hostility among strangers, as only an object of common delight could. A Chinese crowd seeing a caged bird have a common feeling of gay irresponsibility. The worship of the pastoral life has coloured the whole Chinese culture, and to-day officials or scholars speak of "going back to the farm" as the most elegant, the most refined and most sophisticated ambition in life they can think of. The vogue is so great that even the deepest-dyed scoundrel of a politician will pretend that he has something of Li Po's romanticism in his nature. Actually I suspect even he is capable of such luxurious feelings, because after all he is a Chinese. As a Chinese, he knows after all how much life is worth, and at midnight, gazing through his window at the stars, the lines he learned at childhood will come back to him:

I was drunk, half asleep, through the whole livelong day.
Hearing spring'd soon be gone, I hurried on my way.
In a bamboo courtyard I chatted with a monk,
And so leisurely passed one more half-day away.

To him, it was a prayer.

Well it is, too, that the Chinese have poets like Tu Fu and Po Chü-yi, who portray our sorrows in beauty and beget in us a sense of compassion for mankind. Tu Fu, who lived in times of political chaos and banditry and soldiery and famine like our own, wrote:

Meats and wines are rotting in the mansions,
And human bones are rotting outside their doors.

A similar note was struck in the "*Song of the Mulberry Maiden*," by Hsieh Fang-teh:

When cuckoos cried fourth watch in the dead of the night,
Then I rose, lest the worms, short of leaves, hunger might.
Who'd think that those dames weren't yet through with their dance?
The pale moon shone through willows o'er their windows bright.

Note the peculiarly Chinese ending, where instead of driving home a socialistic thought, the poet contents himself with drawing a picture. Even then, this poem is a little too rebellious for the average Chinese poetry. The usual note is one of sadness and resignation, as in so many of Tu Fu's poems, describing the harassing effects of war, of which the following, "*The Bailiff of Shih-hao*," is a good example:

I came to Shih-hao village and stayed that eve.
A bailiff came for press-gang in the night.
The old man, hearing this, climbed o'er the wall,
And the old woman saw the bailiff at the door.
Oh, why was the bailiff's voice so terrible,
And why the woman's plaint so soft and low?
"I have three sons all at the Nieh-ch'eng post.
And one just wrote a letter home to say
The other two had just in battle died.
Let those who live live on as best they can,
For those who've died are dead for evermore.
Now in the house there's only grandson left;
For him his mother still remains—without
A decent petticoat to go about.
Although my strength is ebbing weak and low,
I'll go with you, bailiff, in the front to serve.
For I can cook congee for the army, and
To-morrow I'll march and hurry to the Ho-yang front."
—So spake the woman, and in the night, the voice
Became so low it broke into a whimper.
And in the morning with the army she went;
Alone she said good-bye to her old man.

That is characteristic of the art of restraint and the feeling of sadness in Chinese poetry. It gives a picture, expresses a sentiment, and leaves the rest to the reader's imagination.

For Tu Fu has a sad and resigned humour, which smiles at sorrow itself, like the falling autumn leaves which, while falling to the ground and destruction, can yet sing a gay song in praise of the keen, cool autumn air, a sentiment so well expressed by a Sung poet, Hsin Ch'i-chi:

In my young days,
I'd known only gladness,
But loved to mount the top floor,
But loved to mount the top floor,
To write a song pretending sadness.

And now I've tasted
Sorrow's flavours, bitter and sour,
And can't find a word,
And can't find a word,
But merely say, "What a golden autumn hour!"

That is the very best and highest form of Chinese poetic humour, the humour of sadness.

CHINA'S NORTH-WEST PASSAGE: A CHAPTER IN ITS OPENING

By F. S. DRAKE

China's north-west passage is at the present day the scene of Chinese Government development schemes, of archaeological discoveries, and of the daily passing of the Euro-Asian aeroplanes; the events described in the following pages took place two thousand years ago, being the first expansion of Chinese power into Central Asia, beginning with the reign of the Emperor Wu Ti (武帝 104-86 B.C.) of the Former Han Dynasty.

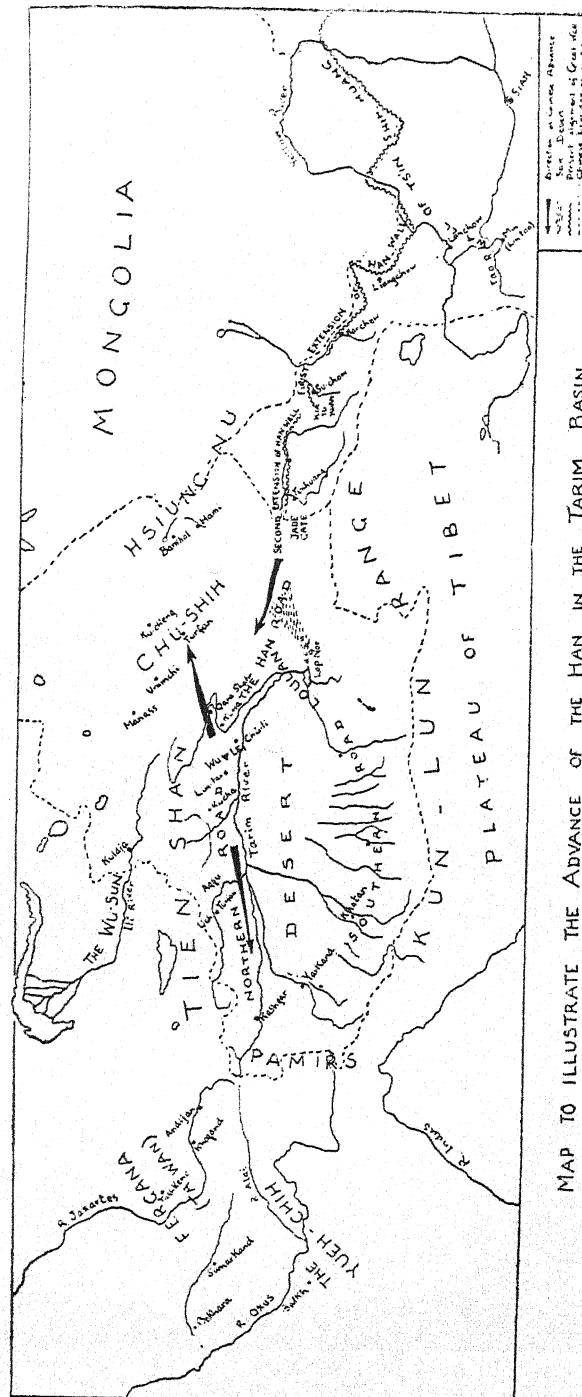
I. THE GEOGRAPHY OF CENTRAL ASIA.

The most striking feature of the geography of Central Asia is the great central highland mass, dividing China from the countries of Western Asia. It consists roughly of the two great plateaux of Tibet and Mongolia, with the Chinese province of Sinkiang and the long narrow westward extension of Kansu lying between.

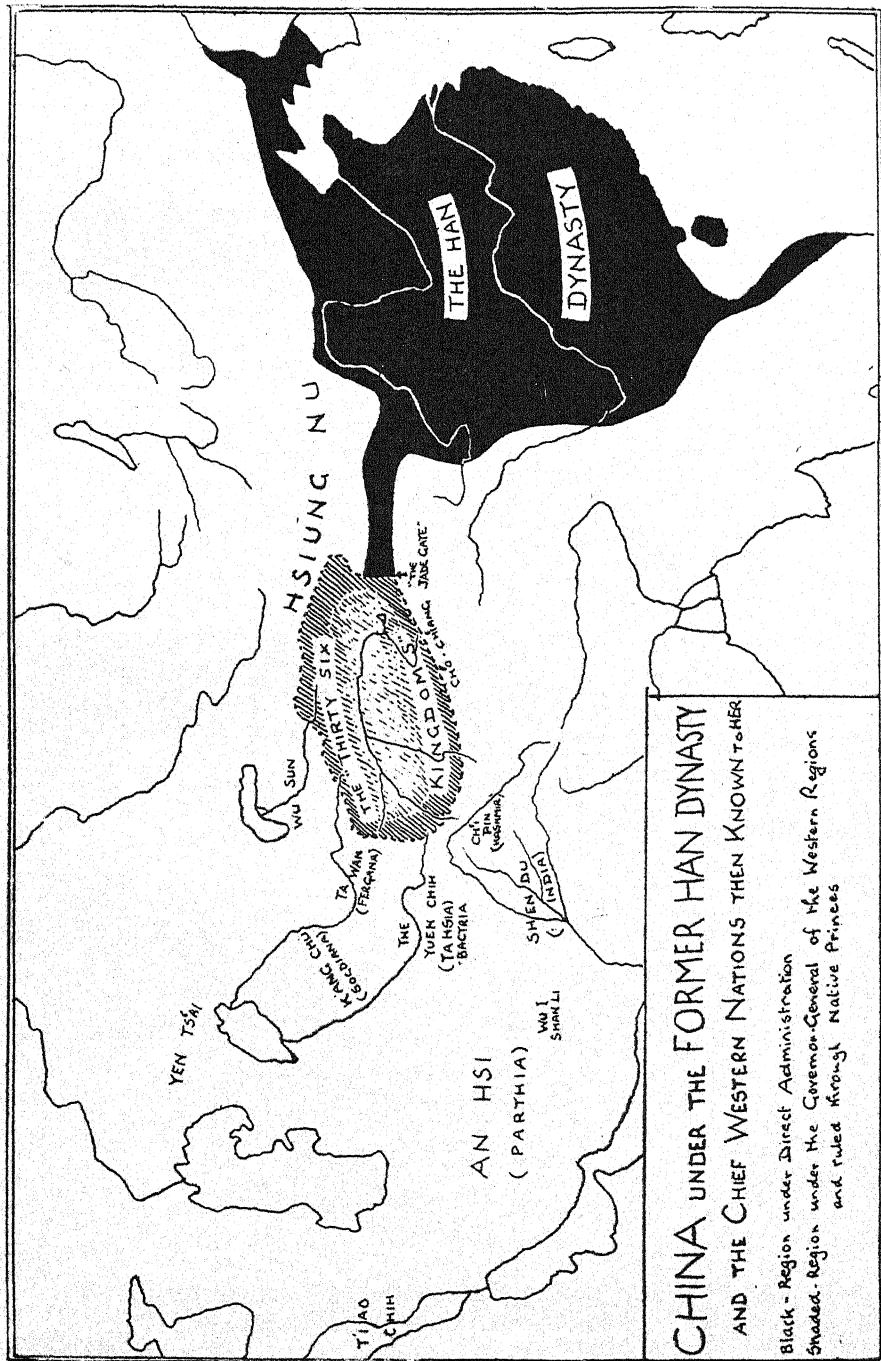
The province of Sinkiang consists of two basins divided from one another by the T'ien Shan range 天山; the Zungarian basin to the north, and the Tarim basin to the south; these are called by the Chinese "the Region North of the T'ien Shan" 天山北路 and "the Region South of the T'ien Shan" 天山南路 respectively. It is only the latter, the Tarim basin, that concerns us in this paper.

Owing to the great size of Asia, the centre of the continent is extremely arid, and therefore difficult to cross. There is however one relatively easy route by which a passage can be made from China towards the north-west; it passes through north-west Kansu, along the narrow extension already referred to, and joins the Tarim basin.

The Tarim basin is almost destitute of rain, and very arid. It consists of a desert some nine hundred miles long by three hundred miles wide, with mountains on three sides: the T'ien Shan on the north, the Pamirs on the west, and the Kwen-lun with the plateau of Tibet on the south; while on the east the land rises gradually to the plateau of Mongolia.



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE ADVANCE OF THE HAN IN THE TARI M BASIN



CHINA UNDER THE FORMER HAN DYNASTY
AND THE CHIEF WESTERN NATIONS THEN KNOWN TO HER

Black - Region under Direct Administration
Shaded - Region under the Governor-General of the Western Regions
and ruled through Native Princes

The mountains are glaciated, and the glaciers descending give rise to mountain streams, which flow down towards the centre of the basin. Of these, two from the west unite to form the Tarim River, which flows eastwards along the northern edge of the desert and loses itself in the vagrant marshes of Lop Nor 蒲昌海, at the extreme east of the basin. It is joined by several tributaries on the north, but on the southern side only one stream succeeds in crossing the desert, and uniting with the Tarim—the River of Khotan. With the exception of another stream that flows into Lop Nor, the rest of the streams on the southern side lose themselves in the desert at the foot of the mountains, and there is thus created between the desert and the mountains a fertile strip, supporting grass, and even in places poplar trees, which runs around the basin between the desert and the mountains; while by the side of the streams are oases, greater or smaller according to the size of the streams, and the amount of irrigation work undertaken by man.

These oases, north and south of the desert, provide two routes by which the Tarim basin may be traversed from east to west. On the northern rim of the desert, the chief oases are Kurla 庫爾勒, Kucha 庫車, Aqsu 阿克蘇, Uch Turfan 烏什 and Kashgar 疏勒; on the southern rim, Khotan 和闐 and Yarkand 沙車. During the period discussed, each of these oases, and others now submerged in the desert or fallen into unimportance, was an independent kingdom; the total in and around the Tarim basin was known collectively as the "Thirty Six Kingdoms."

We must notice especially the geographical features at the eastern extremity of the T'ien Shan range; at the extreme east is a glaciated mountain group, the Qarliq Tagh, which gives rise to the oasis of Hami 哈密 on the south, and of Barköl 巴里坤 on the north; west of this is another similar group, the Bogdo Ula 博格多山 which gives rise to the oases of Turfan 吐魯番 in its deep depression on the south, and of Ku Ch'êng-tzü 古城 on the north; while between this group and the T'ien Shan proper lies Urumchi 迪化, the capital of Sinkiang.

These oases are important because it is possible from the end of the Kansu route to cross the desert to Hami, and then by these oases to proceed along the wooded northern slopes of the T'ien Shan, so providing a third and easy route to the west. But they are important for a different reason; they provide approach to the Tarim basin by way of Hami, Turfan, Qara Shahr and Kurla, thus avoiding the Salt Desert 白龍堆 east of Lop Nor, and coming in upon the Tarim route from the flank. During the Han Dynasty, Barköl and Hami (then known as P'u-lei 蒲類) were the head-quarters of the Hsiung-nu 匈奴 or Huns; Turfan was an allied state—Chü-shih 車師; and the route by Qara Shahr 羯耆 and Kurla was their chief way of attack upon the Chinese line of communications.

With regard to the encircling mountains: the T'ien Shan on the north receives a heavier snowfall and is well glaciated; it includes long grassy valleys, the home of the Kirghiz; the northern slopes are clothed with pine forest; the range can be crossed by several passes; of particular interest is the fertile Ili valley 伊犁河 to the north-west of the range, and during our period the home of the blue-eyed and red-haired Wu-sun 烏孫 tribe.

On the south, the Kwen-lun 罢崙山脈 are arid, and backed with the broad plateau of Tibet, are difficult to cross; at the western end however, between Khotan and Yarkand, the ascent can be made to the Karakoram Pass, and thence to Kashmir and India.

The Pamirs on the other hand, in spite of their wind-swept and dreary character, by their long grassy east-west valleys, provide relatively easy crossings, and are a bridge rather than a barrier; from Kashgar, on the north, crossings can be made to Ferghana (Khokand and Tashkent) and Sogdiana (Samarkand and Bokhara), or to Balk and Merv, and thence *via* Persia to Asia Minor and the West; from Yarkand on the south, crossings can be made over the Hindu Kush to Afghanistan and India, or along the Oxus to join the northern routes at Balk or Merv, and so again to the West.

Thus the great route leading out from north-west China, divides into three to pass the T'ien Shan and the desert, and unites again beyond the Pamirs and so proceeds by Persia to the Mediterranean sea-board.

II. THE WESTWARD EXTENSION OF CHINA UNDER THE FORMER HAN DYNASTY (206 B.C.—A.D. 6).

From the earliest times the Chinese were pressed on their north and north-west by the warlike nomadic tribes inhabiting the grassland plateau of Mongolia. These tribes have gone by different names during the centuries, but their characteristics and life have remained essentially the same. At the time of the two Han Dynasties (206 B.C.—A.D. 220), they were known to the Chinese as the Hsiung-nu 匈奴, who are usually regarded as the parent stem of the Huns who in the fifth century A.D. invaded Europe.

Previous to the time of the Han Dynasty, the Chinese protective measures had been mainly defensive, culminating in the Great Wall of Ts'in Shih Hwang 秦始皇, which was commenced in 244 B.C., and reached from Korea, Southern Manchuria, or the region of Shanghai Kuan 山海關 in the east, to Lin-t'ao 臨洮, the present Min-hsien, 岷縣 on the T'ao River 洮河, a tributary of the Upper Yellow River, in the west. At that period all beyond the Wall was but imperfectly known to the Chinese, and the geography of Central Asia with its many states and peoples was a closed book.

A great change took place under the fifth emperor of the Former Han Dynasty—Wu Ti 武帝 (140-86 B.C.). Under this Emperor the old defensive policy against the Huns was exchanged for one of aggression, and this aggressive policy led to the first Chinese geographical discoveries in Central Asia, and to the first extension of Chinese power into this newly discovered territory. To understand how this came about, mention must first be made of the movements of a tribe called by the Chinese "Yueh Chih" (月氏 or 月氐), and in the West known as the Indo-Scyths.

(1) *The Yueh Chih* 月氏. A little previous to the time of the Emperor Wu, the Yueh Chih, a tribe of Aryan race, occupied the strip of fertile country to which reference has already been made, leading out from north-west China between the plateaux of Mongolia and Tibet, and represented by the long westward extension of the present Kansu. About 165 B.C., owing to the fierce attacks of the

Huns, this tribe trekked westwards, to the Ili valley, where they displaced the old inhabitants, called by the Chinese the "Sai" 塞, also an Aryan race, and usually identified with the Sacae of the West. (These are no doubt the people to whom the Scythian bronzes are to be attributed that are found from the steppes of Russia to the borders of China). Thence they were themselves in turn driven out by the red-haired and blue-eyed Wu-sun, who also it seems came from Kansu, and so they proceeded by way of Ferghana to Bactria 大夏 (the northern portion of the present Afghanistan), where they overcame the successors of Alexander the Great, and established a kingdom on both sides of the Oxus. (Le Coq considers that the remains of the Yüeh Chih were the Tochari of a later date).

(2) *Chang Ch'ien* 張騫. About the year 135 B.C. the Emperor Wu conceived the idea of entering into communication with the distant Yüeh Chih, to persuade them to attack the Huns from the west, while he attacked from the east. Accordingly he sent an officer, Chang Ch'ien, at the head of one hundred men, including a slave of Hun extraction, to seek the Yüeh Chih in the Far West.

The whole Tarim basin, with its small oasis kingdoms, was at that time subject to the Huns, and Chang Ch'ien was captured as he endeavoured to pass through, and was detained by them for ten years. During that time he married a Hun wife, and children were born to him. But when opportunity offered, he made his escape, continued his journey westward (presumably by the route north of the T'ien Shan), and eventually reached the Yüeh Chih. He spent a year amongst them, but was unable to persuade them to open hostilities against the Huns. They were comfortably settled west of the Pamirs, and there was no reason why they should bring trouble upon themselves.

Chang Ch'ien's labours were not fruitless however; for he gathered much information about the countries which he passed, and also about neighbouring states that he was not able to visit himself. Of all these he made careful notes, and upon his return to China reported upon the size, climate, productions, population and military strength of each state, and also upon the life and character of the people. In this way he gave detailed reports of some ten states, besides brief references to several others, from China to Persia 安西 and Mesopotamia 條支 in the west, to North India 身毒 on the south. This was the beginning of China's knowledge of the geography of Central Asia.

In addition Chang Ch'ien also introduced several new products to China, as grapes and lucerne, together with news of the wonderful "celestial horses" 天馬 or "blood-sweating horses" 汗血之馬 reared in the valleys of the Pamirs, which afterwards provided a new stimulus to the Chinese in their extension westwards.

On his return journey, Chang Ch'ien was again captured by the Huns, and detained for another year; at last after an absence of thirteen years he reached Ch'ang-an (長安, now Sianfu) with his Hun wife and the Hun slave, whose bow had stood them in good stead in times of need; these were all that returned of the original company of one hundred men!

(3) *Wu Ti's Forward Move*. The return of Chang Ch'ien stimulated Wu Ti to make his forward move. After several efforts the

Chinese in 120 B.C. gained a great victory over the Huns on the north-west frontier, and this was followed by the submission of the Hun prince and all his people, who occupied the territory in the present Kansu from which the Yüeh Chih had been expelled. Thus from Shensi to the western border of Kansu and the desert of Turkestan, was cleared of Huns. Two years later, the Chinese crossed the desert and attacked the Huns, at their base presumably at Hami.

In 119 B.C. Chang Ch'ien advised the Emperor to send an embassy to the Wu-sun. He thought, having good reason to fear the Huns, they might be persuaded by lavish gifts to return to the newly emptied region of Kansu, and so act as a buffer state to the Chinese, at the same time receiving the benefit of Chinese protection. If this succeeded, Chang Ch'ien thought the Yüeh Chih might also be persuaded to return.

The Emperor accordingly sent Chang Ch'ien himself at the head of a large embassy to the Wu-sun. The Wu-sun were not inclined to move; nevertheless friendly relations were established with them; and they assisted Chang Ch'ien to send his deputies to more distant countries. They also sent envoys to China with Chang Ch'ien, and some of their splendid horses as presents to the Emperor. Chang Ch'ien died the next year (118 B.C.), loaded with honours. The Wu-sun envoys returned to their country greatly impressed with all they had seen in China. A few years later Chang Ch'ien's deputies arrived from the distant countries, bringing with them representatives and presents from those states. Thus China was put into direct communication with the western states or "Western Regions" 西域 for the first time. "It was Chang Ch'ien who had bored a hole through."

(4) *The Extension of the Great Wall.* These new communications, and the great number of embassies travelling back and forth, demanded protection. Accordingly in 118 B.C. the Chinese commenced the extension of the Great Wall, from the region of Lan-chow westwards to Chiu-ch'üan (酒泉, the present Su-chow 肅州 in Kansu), which became the centre of the Chinese frontier forces.

This was followed in 109 and 108 B.C. by punitive expeditions against the kingdoms of Loulan (樓蘭 situated by the side of Lop Nor, and commanding the entrance to the Tarim basin), and Chü-shih (車師, the present Turfan district, on the flank of the Tarim route). Both these states, occupying strategic positions, had been utilised by the Huns to harass the Chinese embassies on the road.

At the same time the fortifications for the road were again pushed forward. The Wall proper ended then, as now, at Kia-yü Kuan 嘉峪關, a little west of Su-chow; the guard houses were now carried forward to the last oasis in the fertile strip of Kansu, namely Tun-hwang 敦煌, or Sha-chow 沙州, and they were linked together with a rampart built alternately of layers of clay and brushwood, the ruins of which are still to be seen eroded in a curious stratified manner by the desert wind. Behind this the road ran, with the line of oasis cities and camps, of which the chief were Liangchow 涼州, Kan-chow 甘州, Su-chow 肅州, Yü-men Hsien 玉門縣, An-hsi 安西 and Tun-hwang 敦煌, till the marshes of the Su-lo Ho 蘇勒河 commenced, beyond which the wall could not be turned by the cavalry of the Huns.

crossing the desert from Hami. Here, or hereabouts, was built the famous "Jade Gate" 玉門關. In the débris of the watch-towers, and in the sand at the foot of the wall, Sir Aurel Stein has found innumerable relics and inscriptions that bring to light vividly the frontier life of those distant days.

With the extension of the frontier wall to the Jade Gate, the Chinese line of communications as far as the desert was secured, and happy relations with the Western States followed.

(5) *Expeditions against Ferghana* 大宛, 104-99 B.C. In spite of these happy relations, trouble arose between China and the powerful state of Ferghana 大宛, north-west of the Pamirs. The cause of the dispute was the famous breed of "celestial horses" for which the Emperor had developed a strong liking. A Chinese mission that was sent to Ferghana to obtain some of these, failed, and ill-will broke out between the emissaries and the local people, which led to the intercepting and massacring of the members of the mission on their return to China.

In 104 B.C. a large Chinese punitive expedition was despatched under Li Kwang-li 李廣利 to reduce Ferghana. It moved along the north side of the desert, but the oasis-states closed their doors to this first Chinese army to proceed by that route, and the army was compelled to reduce them one by one before it could obtain supplies. Thus by the time the expedition reached the borders of Ferghana, it was already in a desperate condition, and it miserably failed. A remnant only survived to reach the Jade Gate, and of these the majority, for fear of the Emperor's wrath, deserted to the Huns.

A second and larger expedition, swelled with criminals and riff-raff, was immediately prepared, and sent out under the same general. This time all the oasis-states except one (which was immediately destroyed) opened their gates and provided supplies. Engineers were taken to divert the water-supply of the capital of Ferghana. After a siege of forty days, the outer walls were breached, and the people beheaded their king, and sent his head to the Chinese, offering to provide the "celestial horses" if the Chinese would withdraw. The Chinese thought it wise to accept the terms; they set up a new king friendly to themselves, received supplies for the army, and a large number of the coveted horses, and withdrew.

The news of the chastisement of this distant and powerful state brought all the states that ringed the Tarim basin to the Chinese court with hostages and offers of submission. The expedition returned to China in 99 B.C.

(6) *Military Colonies in the Tarim Basin.* This success was utilised by the Chinese to strengthen their hold upon the "Western Regions." To the countries west of Ferghana new embassies were sent. Beyond Tun-hwang fortified posts were carried out as far as the "Salt Lake" 鹽澤 (of Lop Nor), and military colonies of soldier-farmers (田卒 or 屯兵), under a specially appointed officer, were established at Lun-t'ou 倉頭 and Ch'ü-li 渠犁, two sites which were evidently upon the Lower Tarim, a little S.W. of Kurla, in a district already subject to irrigation, and now still further developed as a supply depot for future embassies and military expeditions.

In particular, the military colony of Ch'ü-li, recruited largely from pardoned criminals and exiles, seems to have been used as a

base for provisioning the expeditions sent against Chü-shih (車師 the present Turfan district).

This is where matters rested when Wu Ti died in 86 B.C.

(7) *The Subjugation of Chü-shih (Turfan 62? B.C.).* It has already been pointed out that the route along the northern side of the Tarim basin was continually threatened on the flank by attacks from the Huns or their allies of Chü-shih, by the Qara Shah-Kurla opening, between the Quruq Tagh and the T'ien Shan proper. The Chinese had already been compelled to undertake several expeditions against Chü-shih, and the military colony of Ch'ü-li, nearly opposite the opening, was no doubt so placed in order to guard this danger spot.

Wu Ti's next successor but one, Hsüan Ti (宣帝 73-48 B.C.), in developing the organisation of the newly acquired territory, appointed an officer with the rank of Ssü-ma 司馬 to "protect" the kingdoms beyond Loulan. No doubt his head-quarters were at Ch'ü-li, and he commenced (62? B.C.), by subduing the kingdom of Chü-shih, and so protecting his flank from the Huns. Instead of destroying Chü-shih, he divided the large kingdom into a number of small states, as "Nearer Chü-shih," "Farther Chü-shih" (車師前國, 車師後國), etc., which would correspond roughly to the oases on the north and south sides of the Bogdo Ula range, as Turfan on the south, and Ku Ch'eng-tzü on the north. This brought the Chinese to a point on the road north of the T'ien Shan, nevertheless they did not at this time gain effectual control over the states north of the mountains; and their hold upon Chü-shih seems to have been precarious enough for a long time.

(8) *The Appointment of a Governor-General (59 B.C.).* In 59 B.C. however a Hun prince rebelled against his overlord, and with all his followers joined the Chinese. This was a great blow to the Huns, who no more ventured to invade the Western Regions. At the same time the Chinese carried forward their policy of consolidation and appointed a Governor-General 郡護 for the whole of the Western Regions. The military colonies too were pushed forward as far as Yarkand 莎車. The Governor-General, besides directly controlling the Tarim basin, also extended his oversight over the Wu-sun in the Ili valley, K'ang-chü 康居 (Sogdiana), and other distant states, acting as arbiter in their disputes, and sometimes even applying force. His head-quarters were established at Wu-lei 烏壘, near the military base at Ch'ü-li, and near the danger point of the Qara Shah-Kurla route. The Chinese books place the site on the route north of the desert, and a little west of Kurla; but Sir Aurel Stein thinks he has found the ruins between Qara Shah and Kurla. In either case the strategic character of the position is clear.

(9) *Final phase.* The last scene of the conquest was enacted in the reign of the Emperor Yüan 元帝 (48-33 B.C.), when a military colony with a special officer in charge was established at Nearer Chü-shih (Turfan). With a Chinese permanent force so near, at the very door, the Hun prince at Hami (or Barköl? 東靃頽) with 1,700 followers, submitted to the Governor-General. The Huns at their base had now given in, and the long struggle of one hundred years (from the time that Wu Ti ascended the throne) was ended. Henceforth the chief of the Huns 單于 was called China's "Border Vassal" 蕃臣, and from this time the subjugation of the "Western Regions"

was complete. "The extent of the land, the mountains and rivers, the kings and princes, the size of the population and the distances of the roads, were all carefully recorded."

The result of all this knowledge, which began with Chang Ch'ien and his account of ten kingdoms, and which had gradually accumulated with each successive expedition and embassy, was systematically arranged, and is preserved in the *Former Han History*, Book 96 "The Western Regions" (前漢書，西域傳). Although the new territory was spoken of as the "Thirty Six Kingdoms," this doubtless being the number of states in and around the Tarim basin at one point in the proceedings directly controlled by China, actually fifty-five states are described in the *Former Han History*, the most distant being Persia 安西, Mesopotamia 條支 and the district round the Sea of Aral 奎黎, with a reference to a state, Li-chien (黎軒 or 粟軒), assumed by later histories to be the same as "Ta-ts'in" 大秦, which is clearly the Roman Orient. None of the states west of the Pamirs were subject to the Chinese Governor-General.

This then was the condition of Central Asia towards the beginning of the Christian era: the power of the nomads of the north-west was broken, and the small states of the Tarim basin were reduced to dependence upon China; their own kings and princes were preserved, but were controlled by the Chinese Governor-General at Wu-lei, who exercised his power by means of the military colonies and the system of roads and guard-houses, the farthest military colonies being at Yarkand in the west, and Turfan in the north-east. Beyond the Pamirs and north of the T'ien Shan Chinese influence was also predominant, while friendly relations existed as far west as Parthia. Under this military domination two east-west roads, north and south of the desert respectively, were kept open, and a large traffic was maintained, the chief articles of exchange being Chinese gold and silk for the agricultural and other products of the countries concerned. As a result of this intercourse there was a great influx of foreign goods into China, as described in the *Former Han History*, and there is no doubt that foreign influence affected Chinese life in many ways, as evidenced by the art of the time.

AUTHORITIES:—*The Historical Records*, by Ssü-ma Ch'ien, 95 B.C. Book 123, "Ferghana" (史記大宛傳).

The Former Han History, by Pan Ku, A.D. 92. Book 61, "Chang Ch'ien's Biography," Book 96, "The Western Regions" (前漢書，張騫傳，西域傳).

THE WORD "ONE" IN CHINESE POETRY

By LIN TUNG-CHI

It was a cold, clear morning after a night's snow storm. The plum-trees outside the little village were shooting forth half-opened buds in triumphant defiance.

"Amidst the heavy snow in yonder village
A plum-tree blossomed last night—
Several branches."

Thus chanted Monk Ch'i Chi¹ as all Chinese poets chant their extemporaneous poems. It was in the glorious days of the T'ang Dynasty when everyone was a poet and poets were everywhere. "Several branches!" interrupted Chêng Ku,² standing a few paces behind. "Why not say *one* branch?" The suggested alteration so overwhelmed the monk that thenceforth he called Chêng his "tutor by virtue of one word."

The honor was well deserved, for more often than not, all that matters in a Chinese poem is just the one word. Many a time a poet dashes off a piece at the inspiration of the moment—all complete but for one word, and that one word may hold him for days in painful suspense. A lean, ghastly figure with shrugged shoulders and contracted eyebrows brooding at late hours beside his distorted shadow in the dim light, with a cup of tea, or a bowl of wine half-lifted to his lips as if he were hearkening in arrested attention to the faint echo of a familiar voice coming through the silent emptiness of yonder space—this is the favorite portrait the Chinese are wont to paint of their poet in his apparently over-earnest quest for better diction. His, however, is no vain play of verbalism. The ideographic nature of a Chinese character, its sound, its tone, and its rich literary tradition and allusion combine to give it a singular power of suggestion and implication impossible to find in any other language. Just as the artist injects life into a painted dragon by a dot in its eye, so a poet transforms doggerel rhyme into good verse by the

¹ 前村深雪裏，昨夜數枝開。

——僧齊已，詠梅 (T'ang Dynasty)

² 鄭谷，a T'ang poet toward the end of the ninth century.

golden touch of a single word. Hundreds of poetical anecdotes, the *shih hua*, can be cited as illustrations. That related above is only a case in point.

The word *one*, as an example of such magical words in Chinese poetry, is particularly characteristic and interesting. A simple perusal of some typical cases will reveal an important aspect of Chinese philosophic-aesthetic outlook as well as of Chinese prosody.

The Chinese equivalent of the English word *one* is, of course, the character *i* (一). But *i* is something more. While in the ordinary sense it means *one* or *a*, in a special context it may mean *single*, or *unique*, or *unity*, or *whole* or *concentration*, or *once*, the latter suggesting the beginning of an action or a thing. It is a remarkable word, simplest in form but most complex in its philosophical implications. Such a word in any language can hardly fail to appeal to the sensitive appreciation of the poets and engage their special attention. Indeed, its frequent usage in Chinese poetry has become a technique, a pattern, and almost a cliché.

Until we stop to think about it, we do not realize that numerals are really one of the greatest achievements of man. The concept of numbers is a distinct characteristic of the human faculty as over and above that of other forms of life. Of all the numbers, *one* alone is the most crucial and the most fundamental. Without *one*, it would have been impossible to conceive of other numbers. But once *one* was conceived, the rest followed almost automatically.

Whether the concept of *one* and its following numerals was inborn with man or acquired through a long process of experience, it cannot be gainsaid that the concept, however elemental, is by no means elementary. To see a certain entity as *one*, it is necessary to see it as a unit or as a whole, and it is also necessary to see the different parts of that whole, and the distinction of these parts separately and collectively, from the parts of another entity. It implies mental processes of analysis and integration, differentiation and comparison. It would be no exaggeration to say that the moment the human mind grasped the concept of *one*, a new epoch began in the general evolution of the universal mind. Lao-tzü, the Old Philosopher of China, once proclaimed: "The *Tao* gives birth to One, One to Two, Two to Three, and Three to all beings." Could he mean that not until we form the concept of *one* can we begin to see the manifold in its proper existence and relations?

To come back to poetry, let us see wherein lies the significance of Chêng Ku's suggestion of "one branch" in place of "several branches." To begin with, all Chinese poets have a special sensitivity to the changes of season. To them, quiet but keen observers of nature, the regular alternation of seasons suggests the eternal drift of time and the mysterious operation of the universe. Spring is the season of birth; summer the season of growth; autumn starts destruction; and winter declares the cessation of life and activities. Poets, singers of spring, invariably lament over the aspect of winter. But, on the other hand, in the darkest moment of despair, they are equally alert and instinctive in sensing the on-coming pulse of life. A plum-tree blossoming in the midst of snow proclaims the first triumph of hope. As a symbol and signal of the return of spring, of life and love, one branch in bloom is sufficient indication. True,

there may be several branches blooming, but the artist reserves the privilege of modifying the actual in order to reproduce his feeling for the natural. Here Chinese painting and Chinese poetry, at their best, join hand in hand in their preference for transcendental impressionism. What matters at all is the first branch that bloomed, the first branch that was seen. For a suggestive touch, *one* is perfection; *two* would be stupidity.

"One scarlet blossom in a mass of green.

Spring, to be spring, has no need for more."³

This is reminiscent of the famous lines of Yeh Shih where the same expression "one branch" is employed with equal effectiveness, though in quite a different humor. After failing to secure entrance to his friend's garden, he rejoiced in a glimpse of the sight within. For,

"The play of spring defies confinement in your garden.

There over the wall peeps *one* branch of apricot blossom!"⁴

Thanks to this peeping one, our poet, though locked out, still found himself a part of the spring!

The suggestiveness of one branch or one spray of flower is best appreciated by the Chinese. Poets sing of one spray of chrysanthemum beyond the door curtain. Painters delineate one twig of bamboo athwart the window lattice. Visit, if you will, the "studio" of a Chinese scholar and you will often find on his study-table a bit of nameless flower standing in a simple vase half filled with water. An absurd eccentricity in the eyes of an Occidental stylist! But the Chinese have their approach. To appreciate a flower is to appreciate beyond the flower. The flower itself is not the object of appreciation. It is only a symbol for a reality behind it. To the Chinese artist, the flower seen in the vase is no longer a flower as such. It stands for fragrance of character and uniqueness of personality, lonesome yet lofty, single but strong. There is a certain measure of self-composure, of self-sufficing simplicity, totally undisturbed, as it were, by any vanity or pettiness. The motto is, then, to see the flower unseen and to forget the flower seen. Hence, the simpler the symbol, the less the distraction, the more telling the suggestion and the more vivid the reality.

Look for a moment at the American flower arrangement in a florist's window—bundles of flowers, nothing but flowers, colourful, brilliant, full-bloom. The dazzling effect, the bizarre gorgeousness, is only equalled by the curio-and-pajama shows put up in China-town for American patronage. And we know "gorgeous" art has never ranked high in China. There is then a difference—a difference in taste and a difference in purpose.

The Chinese are collectivists in economics and individualists in aesthetics. For in the former the social philosophy of Confucius operates, while in the latter the anti-social spirit of the Taoist prevails. Though often enough the two thought-systems make incursions into each other's territory to give the necessary check or counter-poise,

³ 萬綠叢中紅一點。
動入春色不須多。

——無名氏 (Anonymous).

⁴ 春色滿園關不住。
一枝紅杏出牆來。

葉適 Yeh Shih (a Sung poet, 1149-1223).

they have at ordinary times remained within their respective spheres of influence. In aesthetics, the spirit of individualism always predominates. A Chinese artist breathes the air of freedom and bears the characteristics of a hermit. The coming of the "other-worldliness" of Buddhism over the artist's intellectual horizon has only intensified his natural inclination and kept him further away from the crowd. So it is that in Chinese poetry, in spite of the variety of form and content, we can trace through it all a persistent longing for the unique, a touching sympathy for the solitary, and an instantaneous recognition of the *one* as against the *many*.

To contrast *one* with *many* within the space of a line or two is a particularly favorite device. It is rendered doubly effective by the usual laconic style of Chinese verse and the ideographic nature of Chinese characters. It is most revealing to note that while in form the *one* balances the *many*, in spirit a subtle stress is almost invariably given to the *one*. Indeed, the *many* is called forth generally for the purposes of bringing the *one* into bolder relief. Chinese poets do not pretend to have respect for the majority. Whenever there is a one-to-many contrast, we may be sure of their partiality on the side of *one*. Thus:

"I love *one* peak alone in its morning freshness,
Highest in the white clouds above a *thousand* cliffs."

—*Hsieh Nêng*.⁵

or

"Where the *thousand* mountains end,
One peak towers in utter loneliness."

—*Fan Ch'êng-ta*.⁶

or

"Over *myriad* acres of rice-fields
One wild goose soars aloft."

—*Wên T'ing-yün*.⁷

What a sublime aloofness! The peak and the goose are only symbols into which the poets are reading their own personalities! The tendency to single out the *one* from among the *many* is still better shown by the famous twenty-word poem of Liu Tsung-yüan on the snow scene:

"*Thousand* hills!
No bird flying!
Ten thousand trails!
No trace of footprints left behind!
There is only a *lonely* fisher-boat
With an old fisherman in his straw hat and coat
Fishing *alone* in the snow of the bleak beach."⁸

⁵ 獨愛千峯最高處，
一峯初日白雲中。

薛能 *Hsieh Nêng* (a T'ang poet of the mid-ninth century).

⁶ 千山已盡一峯孤。

范成大 *Fan Ch'êng-ta* (a Sung poet, 1125-1193).

⁷ 萬頃江田一雁飛。

溫庭筠 *Wên T'ing-yün* (a T'ang poet).

⁸ 千山鳥飛絕。

萬徑人蹤滅。

孤舟蓑笠翁。

獨釣寒江雪。

柳宗元 *Liu Tsung-yüan* (a T'ang poet and essayist, 773-819).

In his quest for the solitary, for the unique, nothing is too trivial for the poet. He may be leaning against the doorway looking at the evening drizzle blown aslant by the gentle breeze, and there he would catch sight of *one* sparrow darting in haste to its nest. He may be taking a morning promenade among the mazes of his garden flowers when suddenly he notices *one* butterfly flying over the pale to the next house and he begins to wonder enviously if his neighbor's garden offers a better attraction for the play of spring. Now he would see

"A cicada chirping at the top of a green pagoda-tree."
—*Su Shih*.⁹

Then he would discover

"A firefly glowing under the shady grass."—*Chu Kao*.¹⁰

It seems that these little odd things in life, generally ignored by man, are specially provided by nature for the songs of poets. Read the following lines of *Li Tung*:

"Tall trees stand silent in the cold.

"One peal of the temple bell resounds across the stream."¹¹

or the well-known piece of *Yen Wei* while boating on an autumn night:

"One twinkling lamp-light in yonder village

"Some household, methinks, has left its door ajar."¹²

What does the workaday world care for a temple bell, or a light in yonder village? Our dull senses, further dulled by the hustle and bustle of mundane life, will give cognizance to things only when they are repeated, magnified or multiplied. What stands alone, or comes but once, does not enter into the consciousness of the crowd. It falls to the poet to lay quick hold of it and make it part of his own.

The appreciation of *one* is, of course, not unknown to ordinary people. There are moments in every man's life when *one* does mean everything and *one* makes all the difference in the world, be it a lover's love or the "überalles Vaterland." It may be a lost traveller looking helplessly for rescue in a wilderness when *one* bark of a dog comes forth from a hut concealed behind the thick foliage. Or it may be a devoted wife waiting in vain for the return of her wayfaring husband when suddenly comes *one* familiar knock at her door! Imagine this more subtle, though common, case, where we unconsciously steal upon a scenic spot without the least awareness of its beauty and then on a sudden our attention is awakened by an abrupt sound coming from nowhere:

"The morning mist cleared with the rising sun.

Not a soul was anywhere in sight.

"One splashing oar in the stillness of the day

Turned the river and the hill all green!"

—*Liu Tsung-yüan*.¹³

⁹ 緣 桃 高處一蟬吟

蘇軾 *Su Shih* (a Sung poet, 1036-1101).

¹⁰ 草 暗一螢流

朱 樞 *Chu Kao* (a Sung poet?).

¹¹ 天寒高木靜 一磬隔川聞

李 洞 *Li Tung* (a T'ang poet).

¹² 一點前村火 誰家未掩扉

嚴 維 *Yen Wei* (a T'ang poet).

¹³ 煙消日出不見人

款乃一磬山水緣

柳宗元 *Liu Tsung-yüan* (see above note 8).

It is that *one* splash which awakens, electrifies and transforms the insensate world into a world of meanings! Or imagine a different setting where we are parting with a dear friend bound for a distant land. However we may regret his departure, there is no help for it. The only possible relief in the situation is to drink a last toast together and thereby convey to him our regard and our good wishes.

"Prithee, empty *one* more cup of wine.
For west beyond Yüan-Kuan,
Thou wilt find no old acquaintance!"

—Wang Wei.¹⁴

We may have drunk a thousand cups but that *one* cup will never be forgotten.

Life is full of such incidents—with alternate play of anxiety and relief, despair and hope, perplexity and realization. At the critical moment when our emotional tension is at its highest and our sensibilities keenest, some *one* thing, casual and trivial though it may seem, will often appear to strike the key note of discord and give the clue to a new light. It both embodies and expresses our underlying mood and mind of the time. It becomes a symbol of our values and, in fact, the reality of the moment. We experience it, but we soon lose trace of it. Thanks to the poets, perhaps Chinese poets in particular, the function and value of *one*, immortalized in innumerable ways in their innumerable songs, is preserved ever-fresh in our memories.

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TIENTSIN.

¹⁴ 勸君更盡一杯酒。

西出陽關無故人。

王維 Wang Wei (a T'ang poet, 699-759).

MEN AND MATTERS IN THE LAND OF THE YELLOW EARTH

By G. FINDLAY ANDREW, O.B.E., F.R.G.S.

The world is north-west minded in China to-day. From the highest Government official to the small trader in the land, the hopes of all have turned to that vast area which is so vaguely termed the great North-West. But I propose to deal with but one small section of that so little known area. And this for want of a better name I have designated the "Yellow Earth" territory, borrowing the caption from the title of a book recently published.¹

South of the sands of the ever-encroaching deserts of the North, and north of the Tatung and Minshan Ranges there lies a belt of soil which is known to geologists as loess. This is a loamy deposit which runs in a belt practically round the world. In China it is believed to be a wind-drifted fine dust from the deserts of Central Asia brought down by the moister air and, generally speaking, its distribution throughout the world may be summarised with some approximation to correctness as forming a fringe on the equatorial side of the limit of glaciation and on the great desert and steppe lands. With a minimum of rainfall it is a fertile soil and thus is peculiarly adapted to an area where desert encroachment and ever diminishing rainfall would tend to make life otherwise impossible for an agricultural population.

The generally accepted theory of its formation is that which is now known as Richthofen's Eolian theory.² This holds that the fine yellow-grey dust is a wind-borne sediment laid to rest over an area where the wind, owing to the topography, loses its velocity and deposits its burden. This accounts for the fact of the loess basin lying north of the great mountain ranges. We can think of it in terms of snow covered landscape. The only other theories which

¹ *Children of the Yellow Earth*, by Andersson, reviewed elsewhere in this Journal. Mr. Andrew's present paper was read before the Society on January 24th, 1935.—*Ed.*

² Cf. "The Origin of Loess," by J. B. Penniston, in *Journal of the N.C.B. of the R.A.S.*, Vol. LXIV—1932, pp. 107-111, for other theories.—*Ed.*

have been advanced with regard to loess have been its formation through the agencies of ice or water. With regard to these I quote the words of a scientist, Dr. J. G. Andersson, who has had every opportunity in recent years of studying this peculiar geological formation.³

But water has played its part in the present fantastic topography of the loess belt. Water erosion has carved out of a surface once level, strange gullies and ravines, weird pillars, great arches and tunnels, which make a journey into this area a memorable experience for the present-day traveller. Perpendicular drops of anything up to one hundred feet intersect the surface and bear a similarity to the crevices of an ice-field. But one distinct feature of such erosion is the vertical cleavage of the loess soil which causes it to fall away, before the weathering influences, in perpendicular drops. This can be accounted for by the fact that this soil is porous and, soaking up the rain as a sponge, filters it through to the under-lying bedrock of gravel or Tertiary clay, which slides away towards the open valley, causing the superimposed loess to sink perpendicularly to the lower level.

Loess, weathering into vertical cliffs and horizontal terraces, by excavations in the former, provides cave dwellings for many thousands of the population, whilst the latter make farming possible right up the slopes of the hill-sides.

Thus it may be rightly said that on loess the inhabitants are born, by it they live and in it they are buried. So bound up with their "bundle of life" has the yellow earth become that on any other geological formation the true child of the yellow earth is lost. One such, at present visiting Shanghai for the first time in his life and now staying in my home, was bitterly bewailing the fact, but a few days since, that in all this great metropolis it is not possible to obtain one single handful of the beloved yellow earth.

Some scientists are positive in the assertion that the deposition of loess was halted some 20,000 years ago. Others hold that it is still a growing soil and with the latter I am inclined to agree. In the area, you will find loess deposited to a depth of one thousand feet and over. Lightly packed at the time of its deposition it solidifies

³ *Children of the Yellow Earth*, pp. 130-131.

"It is extremely easy to dispose of the first suggested explanation. Ice can never directly produce such a deposit as loess. It is true that loess appears in Europe on the outer margin of the ancient ice cover under such conditions that loess material in no small quantities was derived from the moraines, which contained abundant dust. But this is a resifting of inland ice deposits which is only conceivable in those districts where during the Pleistocene period the inland ice eroded the bedrock. In Northern China we have as little evidence as in Mongolia of a Pleistocene ice cover. On the contrary, everything indicates that the climate in those parts during the Pleistocene period was too dry to permit of the existence of an ice cover. The ice theory may therefore be promptly dismissed as quite improbable."

"Had the loess been deposited in water, we should find fresh water molluscs and mussels, but the mollusc shells which are most commonly found in the typical loess deposits are mostly *Helicidae* and other land molluscs, i.e. forms which directly contradict the theory of deposit by water. The striking absence in the loess formation of stratification, which characterizes any genuine water deposits, is also definite evidence against the lacustrine theory."

under the pressure of its weight, and hills and mountains of loess, or loess superimposed on other strata, have grown. But such mountains, speaking in terms of comparison, always remain loosely packed and this has constituted a danger factor which has played no little part in the lives of the children who live upon its bosom. Dr. V. K. Ting, lecturing on the rainfall records of this area, pointed out during the discussion which followed his lecture⁴ that annual rainfall returns are misleading. It is not the total annual rainfall that benefits the people but the even distribution of such rains and particularly the fact of their propitiousness. This area is apparently experiencing an ever-decreasing volume of rainfall but is subject to periods of torrential downpours which create havoc through erosion. Whole terraces of fields will disappear in one such devastating downpour and the waters of the Yellow River become still more yellow overnight through the amount of land which is swept into its torrent to be carried down to the lower reaches in Honan and Shantung where the deposition of such silt on its bed is creating one of the greatest problems of modern times and constituting one of the most serious dangers facing China. By such downpours the annual rainfall statistics are increased but instead of such statistics providing an index of productivity they are misleading in that such rainfalls are disasters of no small magnitude. Thus it is not the annual quantity of precipitation deposited over the area that has to be taken into account but the even distribution.

The law of compensation holds good in Nature, and whereas, as already stated, the nature of this soil constitutes a wonderful provision by the Great Creator in a belt where man is required to wring a living from Nature by the sweat of his brow in the face of altitude and aridity, at the same time its structure constitutes another source of ever present danger. The area is bounded on the West, South and East by mountain ranges of rock formation. In these ranges are to be found some of the highest peaks in the world. The highest peak of the Amne Machin range is estimated, on preliminary surveys by such travellers of note as the late Brigadier-General Pereira and Dr. Rock, to be 28,000 feet. This whole area has been subject to earthquakes, severe and numerous, in centuries gone by. More recent history records severe shocks in 1778, 1862, 1920 and 1927. When such have occurred in the zone of these mountain ranges the reaction has wrought devastating havoc in the belt of the loess deposit. There the loosely packed soil of the loess hills and mountains has responded to the tremors; and veritable tidal waves, in terms of earth, have poured down their torrents into the valleys and on to the plains, burying the towns and villages with the isolated farmsteads which lay in the course of their torrent.

The outlines of landslides which occurred centuries ago are still in evidence on many of the mountain and hillsides. But of all the earthquakes which have taken place during more recent centuries, that which occurred on the night of 16th December, 1920 has been recorded as the most severe. It is stated to be the most intense shock that has ever been seismologically recorded. Its effect was felt right through the loess basin of which we speak and literally scores of hills

⁴ In Wu-Lien-Teh Hall of the Society on January 16, 1935: "Climatic Records and the Supposed Dessication of North-West China."—Ed.

and mountains were shaken from their fastnesses on that memorable night when Nature, as though in a spasm of pain, emitted a long drawn groan and turned in her sleep.

Without warning the first terrible shock came on that fateful evening of a cold winter's day between 7 o'clock and 7.30 and for ten minutes the Court of Death held high revel to which over one million lives paid tribute. Homes and cities collapsed like packs of cards, crushing the inmates to death or burning them alive in the fires which resulted. Mountains flowed down from their lofty eminences like flowing sand from a desert hill. Streams and rivers were dammed in their courses, inundating large tracts of cultivated land, or bringing down houses which had escaped the avalanche of earth from the flowing mountains.

The shaken mountains poured down their earth in an avalanche of death, burying whole villages, and thousands of prosperous farmsteads, under hundreds of feet of earth. Well do I remember on October 12th, 1921, just at sunrise, coming out on the top of a range of mountains at the foot of which lay the one time flourishing little hamlet of Ma Chien Keo which, previous to the earthquake, had a population of 700 souls, not one of whom escaped to tell the tale of disaster. Ten minutes had sufficed to transform that fair vale into a veritable valley of death.

"The hills are shadows, and they flow
From form to form and nothing stands!
They melt like mists, the solid lands,
Like clouds they shape themselves and go."

The glory of Kansuh lies in its mountain ranges but its safety lies in its valleys and ravines. These are the water courses which drain off the floods from the mountains into the great water-ways of the Yellow River in the north and the Yangtse in the South. It will readily be seen from the above how that with these valleys and ravines passing through the loess basin where they became blocked with the slides from the shaken mountains, the province was threatened with flood and consequent famine following on the visitation of the earthquake. Not only did the calamity threaten the province of Kansuh, but, as previously stated, it constituted a very real source of danger for the provinces of Honan and Shantung in the far east of China. It will be recalled how the Yellow River annually carries down vast quantities of earth and sand from Kansuh which find settlement on the bed of the river as it passes through the two above named provinces with the result that the bed of the river in those parts now lies higher than the surrounding country, threatening death and devastation should the river burst its banks. Year by year, as the river bed is silted up with the deposit brought down from the highlands of Kansuh and Tibet, the river banks have to be heightened by manual labour. Think then of the danger which would naturally result in these provinces if the large dammed-up lakes in Kansuh burst through the barriers caused by the slides, carrying down in their onrush extra large quantities of deposit to silt up the bed of the river in Honan and Shantung.

At the time of the earthquake I was on leave in England but during the early Spring of 1921 returned to China and was sent back to the province by the China International Famine Relief Commission

to supervise the reconstruction work. Roads and bridges had to be built, homes restored, but the most pressing problem of all was the release of the dammed up rivers and streams, many of which had formed great lakes before the heavy rains of summer came.

It was decided that the reconstruction work should be carried out as a relief measure and an army of close on fifteen thousand people who had been made destitute by the disaster were enrolled as labourers. The wages paid them not only provided them with an immediate livelihood but enabled them to save something toward the building of their homes.

The whole effort was a race against time. It was necessary that the earthquake slides should be excavated to allow the dammed up rivers to flow before the fall of heavy summer rains could cause them to break through the obstruction and release them as devastating floods upon habitations which had heretofore escaped destruction.

Concerning the difficulties of the summer's work, a whole volume could be written. Many of those facing us will not be readily appreciated by people enjoying the advantages of modern civilization. The earthquake area covered at least thirteen thousand square miles with the nearest railway station some six hundred odd miles away. The only means of transportation was by means of animal or springless native cart. Many of the lakes which were threatening towns, or large villages, lay far away in the mountains; away from all human habitations, and here, camps had to be formed for the workmen and all matters pertaining to the housing and feeding of an army had to be arranged. Not the least important of the duties falling to me as field director was the maintenance of discipline among the workmen in the various camps.

Regarding the paymaster's department, and all pertaining thereto, a chapter could be written. Kansuh has been stated by writers to be at least fifty years behind other provinces of China and in the matter of currency there is no exception. It is only within recent years that silver dollars have begun to circulate freely throughout the province and the old brass cash, with a square hole in the centre, has given place to the more modern copper coin. At the time of which I write both the dollar and the copper coin were so scarce that it was not possible to employ either in the matter of payment of wages. As it was the aim of the Commission to get actual money into the hands of the workers our aims would have been defeated had payment been made in food or kind. It was therefore necessary to employ the only currency then in common circulation, i.e., silver sycee or bullion. Think then of the difficulties connected with the transportation by pack animal, or cart, of silver bullion at least 150, and in some instances over 300 miles, through districts then abounding in highwaymen and robbers. The next problem was the conversion of silver into cash. In many of the districts where we worked the copper coin had not yet been introduced and in all the districts the brass cash was the general currency. It was necessary then to travel the whole area and effect exchanges in all the cities, towns, or fair sized villages, where cash was to be had in any quantity. This done, the important question of transportation then arose. Carts, horses, mules, donkeys and even camels were pressed into this service. One silver dollar was at the time changing for something like 2,100 brass cash, which

meant a weight of 18 lbs. odd. One full mule-load of cash represented a total sum of \$14. On our largest cutting at Chin Chiang Ih, where we had something like 3,800 men employed and the daily pay roll amounted to over 900 silver dollars, the weight of the brass cash required for one day's wages was over seven tons, requiring twelve carts to haul it from the office to the works! It was early realized that the only satisfactory solution of the cash shortage problem was an issue of paper currency of our own. This was accordingly done in denominations of 100 and 400 cash and these notes circulated freely throughout the earthquake area, being redeemed with silver from the workmen, or merchants, who presented them in sufficient quantities. These notes were practically all redeemed before we finished our work in the early winter. On one occasion the quality of the silver received caused us much perplexity owing to the miscellaneous composition and poor quality of the consignment. There were rupees, roubles, silver earrings, broken silver bracelets with many other kinds of silver ornaments and small coins. This difficulty was overcome by calling in a silversmith who melted up the mass and turned out ingots of so pure a quality that they readily changed at a higher cash rate, thus more than covering the 70 ounces weight which was lost in the process of refining. However, with patience and perseverance all these difficulties were overcome and the money found its way into the hands of the sufferers, enabling many a poor man, after several weeks work, to buy sufficient materials for the re-building of his ruined home.

The whole area has been, in past centuries, deforested and the scarcity of wood led to a large percentage of the population living in caves. These proved veritable death traps when the "quakes" came. One such cave, which some of our men helped to excavate, yielded thirty-two dead bodies, whilst we heard of much larger numbers being found in others. The work of the summer resulted in cutting through twenty-one slides, releasing twenty lakes, building four stretches of road, one river bund, two bridges and partially completing a water conduit. Earthquake shocks were occurring almost daily throughout the months of our work, from May to October. At times a shock would bring down the side of a cutting, partially, or completely burying men who were at work therein.

On August 29th I returned late in the evening to the headquarters at Chin Chiang Ih after a journey round the area. Being tired I went early to bed and must have slept soundly, for that night Moslem robbers gained entrance to the room in which I slept, drugged me with a special kind of incense, which is manufactured for the purpose, went through all the empty bullion boxes which were piled up in my room and finally decamped with nearly all my personal belongings. They also visited one or two other rooms but failed to gain an entrance into the room, where, on that particular night, there was stored over ten thousand ounces of relief silver!

The proposed cuttings, through the slides which were damming up the waters which had to be released, were first of all carefully plotted out. Gangs of labourers were then set to work digging and the cutting was excavated till it reached a depth almost level with the surface of the water. Then the gradient of the bed of the cutting was noted. If this proved to be fairly level the cutting was sunk to a

depth of eight to ten feet below the level of the water, a dam across the mouth holding back the water till the work was completed. In the case of a steep gradient the cutting bed was sunk to a depth of three feet or so below the surface level of the water. The object was to ensure the water, when released, passing through the cutting with sufficient force to sweep through any blockage which might result through the caving in of the sides of so loosely packed soil. On the other hand care had also to be taken that the water was not released in so great a rush as to become an uncontrollable torrent bringing destruction, and perhaps death, to farmsteads lying near the river course in the valley below. When these huge lakes, some of them two and three miles in length, got fairly on the move the power and force of their torrent was something almost indescribable. In one valley near the large and prosperous city of Ching Ning Chow we had to make six cuttings, one after the other, all within a distance of about ten miles. For various reasons the cutting at D was not commenced till A, B and C were nearing completion. D cutting was nearly half a mile in length and about half of the cutting had been completed when on July 23rd an extraordinarily heavy thunderstorm caused the dam across the mouth of cutting A to give way, the water of the lake pouring through A, B and C and piling up into the half completed cutting D. The situation was critical owing to a slight gradient leading from the south bank of the cutting away to a village which had escaped destruction during the earthquake. Once, therefore, the water overflowed this bank the village would be inundated. With feverish haste a trench was dug to a depth of six feet across the remaining part of the slide and just as this was completed the water commenced to flow through to the river bed beyond. This was about noon on the 25th July and by the following evening when we were able to measure up we found that the water had torn out thirty-seven feet of the bed in about thirty hours. Another cutting in the Tongwei district was completed early in June and all arrangements were made to release the waters on the 12th of that month. For some weeks before the cutting was completed the people in the neighbourhood had been freely venturing the opinion that the release of the water would displease the spirit of the lake and that the ceremony would not pass off without incident. On the day appointed large numbers of people came from the city of Tongwei Hsien, and the surrounding district, till several thousand people were gathered on the banks of the cutting. Owing to the rumours which had been circulating so freely it was almost impossible to obtain the necessary labour for removing the dam across the mouth of the cutting. Eventually this work had to be undertaken by the foreigner in charge of the work, assisted by a few of the more venturesome spirits. Just at the moment when the first stream of water commenced to flow through the dam, a large yellow dog, which had swum across a corner of the lake from a farmstead on the further side, came out of the water and commenced snapping right and left among the large crowd, which, having been all morning on the tiptoe of expectation anticipating some untoward event, was not slow to panic. This gave the dog courage and he re-doubled his efforts finally getting one of the workmen on the ground while he endeavoured to fasten on to his throat. Spades and picks were freely used but without seeming effect and eventually

it took two shots from a heavy Colt to give the dog his quietus. It took quite a time to pacify the crowd but finally all was got under control and the waters were released through the cutting without any further let or hindrance from the "old man of the water."

During the year 1921 it was a fairly common sight to see the harvested grain standing upon the threshing floors of farmsteads where the inmates had all been killed. Or to excavate homes with their gruesome secrets in the mangled forms of their owners, and to find considerable stores of grain. It was indeed a year when there was plenty of food in the loess area where the population had been so decimated. But only a few short years later this was reversed and the yellow earth zone experienced an acute food shortage. Mouths there were then in plenty but no food to supply the needs of Nature's starving children.

From 1928 to 1930 there was sustained drought throughout this area which culminated in a famine in 1929/1930. Then, again, tens of thousands of the inhabitants died this time from sheer starvation. In fact, it is estimated that the province of Kansuh lost, during those two years, two million inhabitants through famine and consequent banditry and pestilence. The population of whole villages were wiped out. Again I was sent to the province by the China International Famine Relief Commission and appointed as Field Director of the relief work. This time the problem was entirely the reverse of that of 1921. Then, there was food but few to eat, this time there were many mouths crying for food but none to be had. Of the experiences of those two years I prefer not to speak much. Of all the experiences of life the most terrible for me has been that of being forced to witness human beings dying by inches for the want of food. When the actual famine was reinforced by typhus the area was strewn with dead. In some villages there was none living to bury the dead. At the time of the happening it seemed as though the area could never expect to recover from this second great disaster. But Nature's tender care can never really "cease towards the child she bears" and with the life giving rains which came in the late Spring of 1930 the response of loess was almost miraculous. Since then the area has been experiencing the upward curve of one of those oscillatory periods of which we were told.⁵ During my last visit to the province, which took place in September and October last year, I found the loess formation more verdant than I have ever seen it before. So on this high note I will end.

I have touched on but two phases of this particular loess area—geological and social. There are many other phases—ethnological, political and religious—which are of great interest. Nature has produced in the child of the Yellow Earth a man—somewhat slow in action—a little sluggish in thought—inured to hardship—content with his lot in life and in many ways a most likeable person.

⁵ In Dr. V. K. Ting's lecture, *vide* previous note.—*Ed.*

INSCRIPTIONS ON BRONZES

By JOHN C. FERGUSON

Mr. Kuo Mo-jo has produced another important book on Bronzes. It is entitled *Explanations and Illustrations of the Grand Divisions of the Inscriptions on the Bronze Vessels of the Former and Later Chou Dynasties* (兩周金文辭大系圖錄). It is in continuation of his earlier work of which I translated the Introduction in the *Bulletin of the National Library of Peiping*, Vol. 6, No. 2, March-April 1932. These works of Mr. Kuo have made a great contribution to the world's knowledge of ancient bronzes.

I have added to the translation of the Foreword (I) and one chapter of Mr. Kuo's book (II) a translated summary (III) of an article by Mr. Shang Ch'êng-tso (商承祚), Professor in the University of Nanking. This article (古代彝器僞字研究) was published in the *Journal of the University of Nanking*, Vol. III, No. 2, and throws additional light on the darkness of the problems of inscriptions.

I.

EXPLANATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE GRAND DIVISIONS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE BRONZE VESSELS OF THE FORMER AND LATER CHOU DYNASTIES

(兩周金文辭大系圖錄)

Foreword

by T'ang Lan

唐 蘭

Following his work on *The Grand Divisions of the Inscriptions on the Bronze Vessels of the Former and Later Chou Dynasties*, Mr. Kuo Mo-jo has now compiled a book containing illustrations of shapes (*t'u*) and inscriptions (*lu*) of the vessels mentioned in his previous book and has requested me to write a foreword.

We are lacking in authentic records of the historical facts of the two Chou dynasties, for accounts of this period which were written at later times are mostly fabrications. However, inscriptions on

Chou dynasty bronze vessels can be truly considered as writings of that period and are reliable historical material. Although there have been numerous records of these ancient inscriptions since the time of the Sung dynasty, no systematic device to utilize this material was invented during this long period. In this book of Mr. Kuo's bronzes belonging to the Western Chou dynasty are divided according to periods while those of the Eastern Chou according to locality. Thus all are systematically collected as if by the rope of a purse-seine and confusion is avoided. He emphasizes the statement of Wang (Kuo-wei) that the *Hsien Hou* caldron should be assigned to the period of Ch'êng Wang and the *Yü Kuei* to that of Mu Wang and quotes Wang's opinion, but in the case of the *Ch'iao Ts'ao* caldron of Kung Wang and the *K'uang Yu* of I Wang, Mr. Kuo has been the first to make the discovery. He is absolutely correct in this attitude and he has blazed a road from which all later scholars, no matter how much they may differ in details, cannot deviate. In this present book of illustrations much new information has been included which makes it invaluable. With this book in hand a student will be saved an immense amount of work in studying the inscriptions, for with the illustrations he will readily understand the theories advanced by Mr. Kuo.

The diligence and alertness with which Mr. Kuo has pursued the study of oracle bones and bronze vessels have been unusual. In recent years he has retired to a foreign land for residence and has devoted his unusual talents to the pursuit of a study which is dry and solitary. This in itself is a difficult task. The second difficulty is that at his distance it has not been an easy matter for him to see or even hear of objects newly excavated. However, in spite of these difficulties, his writings come out in an unbroken sequence, and this proves how diligent and alert he is in this field. Furthermore, with his clearness of thought and keenness in reaching conclusions, he has been able not only to discover new theories which had not been thought of by scholars of the past but also to say what present students dare not say. All of these important discoveries will always remain a monument to his credit, but he is still so modest as to ask what an ordinary and deaf person like myself has to say.

The Chou rose from obscure barbarians and even when their influence covered two-thirds of the whole land their culture was far below the level of the Yin-Shang. For instance, on the inscription of the *Ta Fêng Kuei* (大豐簋), which was made during the time of Wu Wang, the phrases *i ssü* (衣祀) and *yu ch'ing* (又慶) are the same as those found on oracle bones, but the writing is so careless that it cannot be compared with that of *Yü Tsun* (餘尊), which is strong or with that of the *Ssü I* (鼎彝), which is elegant. However, the inscriptions of such vessels as the *Ch'in Kuei* (禽簋) and the *Tu Pao Kuei* (大保簋), which were made only a short time later, are so compact and beautiful that they are far better than earlier ones. This was probably for the reason that after their conquest the Chou obtained the services of the skilled men of the Shang and began to absorb their culture. The *Hsien Hou Ting* (獻侯鼎) was made at Tsung Chou during the time of Ch'êng Wang and the writing of its inscription is vigorous but still lacked skill. The two *Yü Ting* (孟鼎) were produced during the reign of K'ang Wang when the

Chou dynasty enjoyed the greatest prosperity. This is reflected in the inscriptions of these two vessels, the writing of which is so wonderfully strong and elegant that it is not surpassed by that of any later period. The *I Kuei* (虢簋) *Kuo Po Kuei* (遇伯簋), and *Tzǔ Kuei* (釐盤) were all made during the reign of Chao Wang in connection with the Southern Expedition. The writing of these inscriptions excels in beautiful shapes but reveals a lack of strength. The writing of the time of Mu Wang, as is shown in the inscription of *Yü Kuei* (遹簋), is refined and lovely but is without the simplicity of earlier periods, thus reflecting that this sovereign was excessively fond of pleasure. Little attention was paid to writing during the reigns of Kung Wang and I Wang as may be seen from the inscriptions on the *Ch'iao Ts'ao Ting* (趙曹鼎) and *Kuang Yu* (匡卣). Li Wang was a tyrannical ruler and the inscriptions on the *Hsien Yu Ts'ung Hsü* (虔叔从盈) and the *Tsi P'an* (大盤) which were made at his time are crude and expressive of the oppression of the times. However, the writing of the inscriptions of the *Shan Fu K'o* (善夫克) vessels of this same period shows dignity and from this we can see that the Chou dynasty was not to fall immediately. During the reign of Hsüan Wang, the writing of the inscription on the *Chao Po Hu Kuei* (召伯虎簋) again shows strength, thus reflecting a period of revival, though this strength in writing cannot be compared to that of the Ch'êng and K'ang periods.

After the removal to Lo-yang the Royal House of Chou lost all its importance, and bronze vessels were made in the States, such as Ch'i and Chin in the North and Hsü and Ch'u in the South. These all have their different styles. The inscriptions on the *Po* (鉶) of the State of Ch'i and the *Tien* (盨) of the State of Chin all show a lack of strength and thus reveal the weakness of these two States which formerly had been leaders of the kingdoms. The district Hsü was that of the Huai I (淮夷), who inherited their culture from the Yin people, which in turn was handed down to the Ch'u. The writing of Ch'u shows great strength and this State proved a menace throughout the whole of the Ch'un-Ch'iu period. As compared with other States the culture of the State of Ch'in was late, but as this state possessed the former royal domain of Chou and as Duke Mu was fond of scholars, the inscription of the *Kuei* is even more compact and dignified than that of the *Kuo Chi Tzǔ Pai P'an* (虢季子白盤) and gives the impression that the State was to have a great future. During the time of the Warring States, the State of Ch'i, which was usurped by the T'ien family (from Ch'én), produced many bronze vessels, but the writing is of inferior quality, thus showing that the vigour of leadership had spent itself. Inscriptions on vessels recently found in the tomb of the Prince of Han as well as those on the *Ta Liang Ting* (大梁鼎) and *Yen Hou — I* (燕侯堇鼎) are all poor writings. The inscriptions on the weapons of Chao Wang Chih of the State of Yen are comparatively stronger but still very frail. Vessels recently found in the tomb of the Prince of Ch'u at Shou-chou are mostly dignified in shape but the strokes of the characters in the inscriptions are very weak. At about that same time the State of Ch'in on the west was employing Wei Yang and adopting a severe code of law with merciless punishments. By looking at the inscriptions of the *Chung Ch'üan Liang* (重泉量) and *Ta Liang Tsao Chi*

(大良造載) one may see the characteristics of the time in the simple but strong strokes of the characters. Such inscriptions as those of *Hsin Ch'i Fu* (新郵符), *Yang Ling Fu* (陽陵符) and the Mandate weight and measures and tablets, which are of a later date, form the last of the Two Chou periods, and they are the first examples of the *chuan* style of writing of later periods.

There are many fields of investigation which a student of ancient bronzes can work in, such as chronology, geography, official systems, and genealogy. In all of this work one may discover valuable information in the style of the inscription, the writing of the characters, shapes of the vessels and their decorations, for in ancient times changes occurred only in their natural trend, so that things of the same period and locality can often be identified. The political condition of a time is often reflected in the writing of the inscription. Mr. Kuo in his present book of illustrations has not used the style of writing as the basis of his classification, but one can easily see the changes from the order in which the inscriptions are arranged. I have selected a few inscriptions which are definite as to time and locality and taken these as the basis of my imperfect discussion in response to his request. Mine may be called the work of an unqualified amateur.

Written in the Wu-yi Library at Peiping, March 1935.

II.

EXPLANATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS

(圖說)

by KUO MO-JO (郭沫若)

(There are 253 illustrations)

The bronze age in China roughly includes the Yin and Chou dynasties. The art of making bronze vessels had already reached a stage of perfection at the end of the Yin dynasty so that its genesis must have been much earlier, probably between the end of the Hsia and the beginning of the Yin. The Chou were a tribe which appeared at a later period. The fact that while there are no bronze vessels before the time of Wu Wang (1122 B.C.) left to our time, there are a great many from the time of Ch'êng Wang (1115 B.C.) and K'ang Wang (1078 B.C.), shows clearly that the Chou inherited this art from the Yin people. The bronze age may be divided into four periods:

1. *Genesis*.—About the beginning of the Yin-Shang dynasty.

2. *Early products*.—The later part of the Yin-Shang and the beginning of the Chou dynasty, including the reigns of Ch'êng Wang, K'ang Wang, Chao Wang and Mu Wang (1115-947 B.C.).

3. *Evolution*.—From the reigns of Kung Wang and I Wang to the middle of the Ch'un-Ch'iu period (946-600 B.C.).

4. *New forms*.—From the middle of the Ch'un-Ch'iu period to the end of the time of the Warring States (600-403 B.C.).

At the present time we have as yet no accurate knowledge of the objects belonging to the first period, but naturally there must have been such a period when bronzes were first made from models of pottery or stone. For actual examples of the work of this period we must await further excavations.

Vessels belonging to the second period have been greatly admired by lovers of ancient art. Among these there are many caldrons of the *ting* type but very few *li*. There are many square *i* and *tui* without cover (commonly called *i*), but no *fu*. There are many of the shapes called *tsun*, *yu*, *tsioh* and *chia*, but no *hu*, nor is there any *p'an* or *i* (i.e., ewer). Among bells there are *to* but no *chung*. The body of these vessels is usually heavy with deep bold decoration which is frequently composed of the *t'ao t'ieh* design amid thunder scrolls. There are also phoenix, dragon and elephant designs, but the *t'ao t'ieh* and thunder scrolls occupied the leading place in bronze decorations. To my mind, the thunder scroll pattern came from the spiral marks of the fingers found on pottery vessels. The fact that most of the early bronze vessels were decorated with thunder scrolls therefore furnished one of the evidences that bronze sprang from pottery. *T'ao t'ieh*, dragon and phoenix were all mysterious animals of the imagination. The *Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu* has the passage: "On Chou dynasty caldrons are incised the figures of *t'ao t'ieh*, which has a head but no body. Before it can swallow a person whom it is eating it puts an end to its own body." There must have been a tale concerning this animal in ancient times which has been lost. The *Kao Yao Mu* chapter of the *Book of History* states that "the ancient people portrayed the planets in the forms of dragons and phoenixes on ritual vessels." As to the elephant design, the *Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu* states that "Chou dynasty caldrons were incised with shapes of elephants." However, even this design on bronze vessels is mostly imaginative and not real, so that such decorations may either be praised as being full of antiquarian interest or despised as the work of the uncivilized. One may realize this latter point of view by comparing ancient bronze vessels with the clay and wooden objects now used by the barbarians of Formosa or the natives of Australia. In the past these vessels were sometimes destroyed for causing evil influences, which was probably due to their ugly looking designs.

Among vessels of the third period, *ting*, *li*, *fu* and *kuei* are common shapes but there is no square *i*. A new shape known as *hsü* appeared. In wine vessels, *yu*, *tsioh*, *chia* and *ku* were replaced by a shape known as *hu*. *P'an* and *i* were first found and among bells *chung* and *po* gradually became popular. These vessels are usually simpler in form than those of the preceding period. The designs on these vessels are comparatively shallow, usually composed of large scrolls in place of the small thunder scrolls of the former period. The *t'ao t'ieh* design has also lost its importance and is used only in unimportant parts such as the legs of *ting* and *tui*. The phoenix and dragon designs were still used but these all underwent a change and became conventionalized. The leading motif in the decoration of this period was the reversed curve. The *Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu* states that "Chou dynasty caldrons were decorated with the reversed curve which is elongated and the same above and below." This design probably derived from the lines of the wood called *kuei liu*, for

woodenware was common in ancient times. Chuang Tzū states that "a tree of a hundred years old is cut down for the making of the *hsī tsun*" and in the *Book of Mencius* it is said that "bowls were made with the willow." The *K'ao Kung Chi* records that "the duty of the lumberman, *tzū jēn*, was to make drinking vessels . . ." The *kuei liu* is a common wood used in making woodenware and its lines resembling clouds, or rainbows, or sometimes dragons and serpents are so beautiful that they were reproduced in the casting of bronzes. The elephant design disappeared with the invention of the scale and reverting designs. In general, the vessels of this period broke away from the mysteries of ancient times and assumed a spirit of freedom. This, however, seems to the eyes of lovers of ancient art to show a lack of refinement.

In the fourth period, *viz.* that of new forms, there were very few *li* and *yen* while the *hsü* disappeared entirely. There were new shapes known as *tui* and *tien*. The small bells, *pien chung*, became very popular. Vessels of this period may be divided into two classes, the decadent and the progressive. Vessels of the decadent class developed along the lines of those of the preceding period in the general trend of becoming more and more simple. Most of these vessels are devoid of decoration. Some of the simplest of these vessels resemble those of the Han dynasty and in fact have been commonly mistaken for such. Vessels belonging to the progressive class have delicate shapes which are usually cleverly designed. The decoration on these vessels was more shallow than that on vessels of the preceding period, and in place of the large scrolls the designs are fine and regular. Stamping blocks were first used in the making of decorations, so that the decoration on one vessel is usually a repetition of impressions of one block. There are a great many varieties of patterns, unlike the stereotyped styles common on vessels of the two preceding periods. The only designs which were in comparatively more common use were the coiled-dragon and the coiled-serpent scrolls which were the result of skilful modifications of the *p'an k'uei* scroll of the preceding period. Inlays and gilding were introduced. Fairy figures and winged animals are found in the decorations, and the animal forms attached to the bodies of vessels are mostly realistic and lifelike. At this stage, the art of ancient bronze casting was like a devastated garden which through some supernatural effect was suddenly filled with outbursts of beautiful flowers. One may see from the pieces found in recent years at Li Yü Ts'un in Shansi, the tomb of the Prince of Han in Lo-yang, the King of the State of Ch'u in Shou-hsien, that this statement is not exaggerated. This type of vessels has recently been called "Ch'in style" by some western scholars. Although this term cannot be considered as correct, it is possible that this type of bronzes exhibits the influence of Scythian art, for the territory of the Scythians extended to the region now known as Outer Mongolia during the time of the Ch'un Ch'iu and Warring States. These people were therefore in close contact with the States of Chung-shan, Yen and Chao. An outstanding example of the vessels of this class is the *Ti Shih Hu*, which was a product of the State of Chung-shan. These people were known in ancient times as being fond of amusement and singing. They were an artistic race and it was probably through them that outside influences were introduced into

China. The Chung-shan people were also known as being a special race of white barbarians. It might have been that they were some mixed race of the Scythians, but this has to be confirmed by excavations. However, there is no question as to the existence of two classes of vessels in this fourth period in the development of bronzes. Passing from this period to the time of the Ch'in and Han dynasties, the decadent class declined further and further until at last it vanished, while the progressive class concentrated on the making of mirrors, thus forming another link in the chain of culture.

The foregoing division of periods is, with the exception of the first period, supported by well founded evidence and it forms a natural evolution. The method which I have employed has been to let the historical facts contained in the inscriptions tell their own story. When the dates are known, then all the forms and decorations appear in their proper order. This is as true of the style of composition of the inscriptions as of the forms of writing. As a general rule, the inscriptions on vessels of the second period are concise and the ideographs are strong. In the case of vessels of the third period, the inscriptions are usually long and the ideographs written in a free style. With the progressive class of vessels of the fourth period, the inscriptions are usually rhymed and the ideographs well designed. These set the examples for the style of composition and calligraphy on stone tablets of later periods. With the decadent class, the inscriptions are simple and usually composed only of the names of the workmen. However, this division is not without variations. For instance, the *Ch'u Wang Yen Kan* caldron recently excavated at Shou-hsien belongs to the fourth period. Its form and decoration are of the progressive class while the composition of its inscription and the writing of the ideographs belong to the decadent class. Furthermore, the different periods are not disconnected with each other, for there is always a time of transition between one period and another. The reigns of Mu Wang, Kung Wang, I Wang and Hsiao Wang formed the time of transition between the second and the third periods, while the middle of the Ch'un-Ch'iu period that between the third and the fourth. Vessels made during these reigns may be divided as belonging either to the former or the later period according to their styles.

III.

A STUDY OF FORGED INSCRIPTIONS ON BRONZE VESSELS

By Shang Ch'êng-tsü

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(古代彝器僞字研究)

According to Mr. Shang, the most outstanding connoisseur of ancient bronze was Ch'êng Chieh-ch'i (Ch'êng Fu-chai) of Wei-hsien, for during his lifetime he collected several thousand pieces among which not a single one was a fake. In a statement which Ch'êng at one time made in discussing bronze inscriptions he said (see *Fu Chai Ch'ih Tu* Vol. IV. p. 6):

"How can an inscription be considered genuine if the individual

characters are not properly written, the construction of sentences is incorrect, the method of writing lacks strength and the phraseology is faulty? If one does not really love ancient writing and really studies it carefully but considers inscriptions as genuine when the patina looks good and is content with the general appearance of vessels without any knowledge of their use, he is certain to collect forged pieces even though he may have before his eyes scores of genuine pieces and hundreds of good rubbings. Why should any one again fall into the errors of Yeh (Yeh Chih-shên of Han-yang)? Such a fall will surely occur in the case of one who has only a love of curious objects and but little interest in ancient writing. One who loves to acquire classical knowledge by the study of ancient writing, even though he is only a poor scholar, can make rubbings or secure them from others and thus be in as good a position as one who owns the originals. Forged inscriptions always bear tool marks. Although these marks can be smoothed off by rubbing them with a brush made of fine copper wires, this process will also leave marks and the edges of the strokes will be dull. Another test can be made by rubbing objects with the hand. This is applicable both to bronze and in fact to all ancient objects. The metal of forged pieces is never properly fused. In forged pieces there is no writing under the spots of patina and no traces of characters can be seen in such spots, whereas in genuine pieces the workmanship is so wonderful that the characters can be traced through the patina even in old pieces which are so decayed that the bronze has been almost entirely decomposed. With genuine inscriptions there is always a thin layer of dust which attaches itself to the moisture exuded from the metal on the surface of the characters and this cannot be forged. It is possible to distinguish cast inscriptions from those that are incised. Usually the lines of well cast characters are narrower at the top and wider at the bottom. Ancient characters are strong while later ones are weak. Every stroke of the characters of ancient writing is perfect, is an entity and can stand by itself. How can this be accomplished by men of the present time? One who cannot realize the truth of this has not pursued this line of study. It is essential that every lover of ancient bronze should make the study of inscriptions the chief aim. Since dealers who have no knowledge of the written language can readily distinguish the genuine from the forged by constant handling of objects that have been excavated, why is it impossible for scholars to do it? It is possible to tell whether or not an object is genuine by examining the rubbing of an inscription. When a doubtful inscription appears, the vessel is either of a late date or the characters are not well written. Some of the Sung-Yüan imitations that had been buried take on good patina, for some of them were cast with ancient bronze, but these are inferior to ancient objects in both inscription and shape

In the opinion of Mr. Shang, Ch'êng Fu-chai was really an expert and could distinguish genuine inscriptions from forged ones. He was a student who studied ancient bronzes and was not a person who collected them simply for amusement. Mr. Shang's paper is devoted to a study of forged inscriptions, for he believes that without a clear knowledge of forgeries, which are often well made, one can never be sure of distinguishing the genuine from the false.

While the chief concern of Chinese connoisseurs in the study of bronzes is their inscriptions, Japanese and western collectors value them for their wonderful shapes and beautiful decorations. It has been the practice of dealers to incise forged inscriptions on ordinary pieces which are not wanted on the foreign market so that they might sell them to Chinese collectors. With constant practice and with their long experience, they are able to do such good work that they have been able to mislead many of our great collectors.

As far as we know the inscriptions on Sung dynasty imitations were all cast along with the vessels and we have not yet discovered an incised inscription forged during the Sung dynasty. In point of time these forgeries, according to Mr. Shang, may be roughly divided into three periods, from the reign of Ch'ien Lung to that of Tao Kuang being the first, Hsien Fêng to Kuang Hsü the second, and the years of the Republic the third. During all this time the general trend of making forgeries underwent the following changes.

1. At first, when there was little material available, these forged inscriptions took their models from Sung dynasty works, notably that of Hsieh Shang-kung. These can be easily distinguished, for the characters have pointed ends as are found in an ordinary copy of Hsieh's book.

2. The method of copying from Sung dynasty books was found unsuccessful and discarded during the second period, when actual specimens of good inscriptions were used. Instead of copying the whole inscription of a vessel, which would be only too easy to identify, parts of several inscriptions were collected.

3. Another method, which was invented during the third period, was to take one inscription and by cutting out some characters use it on another vessel. Both of the above methods can be detected by a careful study of the wording of the inscription, for there is always some slip in the combination of several inscriptions or the selection of words from some inscription which makes the forged one incorrect.

4. Another method of the third period is to reduce or enlarge the size of the characters of one inscription and reproduce it on another vessel.

5. The surest method is to make an exact copy of an inscription and when it is cleverly done it is not easy to detect.

Mr. Shang goes on to give some of the names of the forgers of whom he has happened to hear and who lived from the T'ung Chih period to the present time. These men are divided according to locality.

ECLIPSES DURING THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS OF THE EARLIER HAN DYNASTY

By Homer H. Dubs, PH.D.

During the first fifty years of the Han Dynasty, from the beginning of Han Kao-tsü's reign in 206 B.C. to the end of the Emperor Hsiao-wen's reign in 156 B.C., the *History of the Earlier Han Dynasty* and the *Historical Records* by Ssü-ma Ch'ien record twelve eclipses of the sun. The *Historical Record* adds one more. Of these, only six in their present form check with modern astronomical calculations. In this paper it is proposed to examine each of these twelve eclipses and endeavour to determine just when each occurred.

These eclipses are recorded in three places: (1) in the "Annals of the Emperors" in the *Historical Records*, (2) in the "Annals of the Emperors" in the *Han History*, and (3) in Chap. XXVII, iii, III, the chapter on the "Five Elements" in the *Han History*. We shall take (2) as primary and add other information given only in (1) or (3).

For checking these records with astronomical computations there is the magnificent *Canon der Finsternisse*, by Th. Ritter von Oppolzer, published in Vienna in 1887, in which are calculated all the eclipses from 1208 B.C. to A.D. 2161. This book gives the day, hour, and minute when the eclipses occurred, the longitude of the sun at the time of the conjunction, and charts the paths of the central eclipses. Since and during Oppolzer's time, improvements in astronomical computations have shown that his calculations may be slightly in error. In Han times, his dating of eclipses may be in error about half an hour. The charted track of the moon's umbra may be in error one degree in latitude, except near the three points he computed for each curve. For Han times that track may be in error as much as seven degrees in longitude. But such minor inadequacies are of little importance in connection with the data found in Han records. Essentially, Oppolzer's calculations are as reliable now as ever. Since, however, he only charts the path of central eclipses, and since, in the fifty years we are considering, the Han astronomers observed only two eclipses that were total for them, we must interpolate from his charts the areas in which the eclipse might have been observed as

partial. For that purpose, on the authority of Dr. Alexander Pogo, associate editor of *Isis*, who has used Oppolzer's tables extensively, we have allowed a distance of $1\frac{1}{3}$ inches to either side of the line of centrality on Oppolzer's charts (but not more than one-third that much in a direction beyond the ends of those lines) as being the area in which an eclipse could be visible as partial.

Still more unfortunately for us, a little more than one-third of all eclipses are nowhere central, that is, the moon's umbra does not touch the earth. For them Oppolzer has not calculated the region of their visibility. Since these eclipses may be very conspicuous in the temperate zones, they are often important for us. The exact determination of the area of visibility for an eclipse requires long and intricate calculations. We have made use of another principle, long known, but little used, to which Dr. Pogo, has directed our attention. At intervals of 19,756 days (with a variation of about one day in either direction) eclipses recur at approximately the same place. This interval of approximately 54 years and one month was called by the Greeks an *exeligmos*. It has been long recognized that when the regions of visibility for the eclipses occurring at intervals of one *exeligmos* are plotted, such an *exeligmos* series begins with a few merely partial eclipses visible in the neighbourhood of one of the earth's poles, then includes a series of central eclipses, of which the region of visibility gradually shifts to the other pole, where the series ends with another group of merely partial eclipses. Dr. Pogo has shown (*cf. Popular Astronomy*, May 1935) that an *exeligmos* series may cover a period of from 1,244 to 1,582 years, including from 23 to 28 *exeligmoi*, with an initial or terminal run of from 2 to 8 *exeligmoi* before the first or after the last eclipse by the moon's umbra in the series. The changes in location of the eclipses in an *exeligmos* series may best be determined by charting the location of the noon points of the eclipses in the series. Dr. Pogo has shown that the curves described by those points vary greatly in shape for different series. In the course of six *exeligmoi*, eclipses in the same series may shift as much as 180 degrees in longitude and 90 degrees in latitude, or, on the other hand, the eclipses in as much as 8 *exeligmoi* may be located within an area of 60 degrees of longitude or less and 30 degrees of latitude or less.

The region of visibility in which a merely partial eclipse may be seen extends for a very large area, especially in the temperate zone. That area may cover the whole region from almost the pole to below the equator, even in the case of merely partial eclipse, as Dr. Pogo has shown (*cf. Popular Astronomy*, Feb. 1935). Hence changes of location during an *exeligmos* series are not usually very important for us, unless the number of *exeligmoi* is large. To determine the region of visibility for a merely partial eclipse, we have merely to count backward or forward a whole number of *exeligmoi* until we reach an umbral eclipse, for which Oppolzer gives a location. If that eclipse is visible near the South Pole, we can know that the partial eclipse in the same series was also visible only in the southern hemisphere, and was invisible in China. If, on the other hand, we find that the first umbral eclipse was visible near the North Pole, we cannot be so sure of its location. We have to note whether the umbral eclipses in this series were visible in the Asiatic, European,

or American sections of the globe, and whether or not the eclipses in the series were shifting previous to their becoming merely partial. If, before becoming merely partial, they were visible in China, and if the eclipses in the series at that time between the first umbral eclipse and the one we are studying is not large (not more than 2 or 3 exeligmoi), we can be fairly sure that that partial eclipse was also visible in China; in proportion that those three conditions are not fulfilled, we must remain uncertain until some kindly astronomer can be persuaded to make the arduous computations necessary to determine exactly where the eclipse was visible. The foregoing method is the one used in preparing this paper.

The first eclipse in the fifty years we are considering is recorded as follows: "In the third year [of Han Kao-tsü], . . . on [the day] chia-hsü, the last day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun." (*Han Shu*, I, i, 35a). *H. S.* XXVIII, iii, III, 13a adds, "It was 20 degrees in (the constellation) *tou* . . ." According to P. Hoang *Concordance des Chronologies Néomeniques Chinoise et Européenne*, 1910 (*Variétés Sinologiques*, No. 29), which we have used throughout for dates, changing its Gregorian dates to Julian dates, this date was December 20, 205 B.C., on which Oppolzer calculates his solar eclipse No. 2387. It was a merely partial eclipse, but one exeligmos later, Oppolzer charts his solar eclipse No. 2515 as visible in China. (It was recorded in *H. S.*, V.). *Tou* is composed of the stars μ , λ , ϕ , σ , τ δ Sagitarii; in 205 B.C., μ , λ , and σ were on longitudes 243° , 246° , and 252° respectively; Oppolzer calculates the sun as being in longitude 265.6° . Thus there is a correct dating and a good approximation in the location of this partial eclipse, even though the stars could not be seen at the time.

The second eclipse is recorded as follows (*H. S.*, I, i, 35a): In the same year "in the eleventh month, on *kuei-mao*, the last day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun." *H. S.*, XXVII, iii, III, 13a adds, "It was 3 degrees in *hsü* 虛." The date is January 19, 204 B.C., but no eclipse happened on that day, for Oppolzer gives none. In this case it seems likely that the historian got the cyclical characters right but the month wrong, for on May 17, 204 B.C., which was one day before a *kuei-mao* day, according to Hoang, there was a partial eclipse (Oppolzer's No. 2388), which was very probably visible in northern China, for two exeligmoi earlier eclipse No. 2144 was visible in China. If we accept this date, we must, however, conclude that Hoang's calendar is one day in error, for he puts that day, not on the last day of the third month, but on the first day of the fourth month. We have elsewhere found an error of as much as three days in the calendar, so that we can safely conclude that, in this case, the day and year were recorded correctly, but somehow a mistake was made in the month.

With the longitude, there is, however, a great discrepancy. *Hsü* is composed of α Equulei and β Aquarii; those stars were on long. 285° and 289° in that year; but Oppolzer calculates the sun's longitude as 51.3° . It looks as though the Chinese location of the eclipse was calculated from the day in the year, instead of being observed.

The third eclipse is recorded as follows (*H. S.*, I, ii, 14b): "In the ninth year [of Kao-tsü] . . . in the summer, the sixth month, on *yi-wei*, the last day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun."

H. S., XXVII, iii, III, 13a adds, "It was 13 degrees in *chang* 張." This date was August 7, 198 B.C., on which Oppolzer locates his eclipse No. 2402. *Chang* is composed of the stars ν , λ , ϕ , μ , κ , ν *Hydrae*, of which ν , μ , and ν were then on long. 120° , 124° , and 129° , respectively. Oppolzer calculates 129.4° —a close checking throughout.

The fourth eclipse is recorded in *H. S.*, II, 6a: "In the seventh year [of the Emperor Hsiao-hui] . . . in the spring, the first month, on *hsin-ch'ou*, there was an eclipse of the sun." *H. S.*, XXVII, iii, III, 13a adds, "It was 13 degrees in *wei* 尾." *Wei* is α *Aquarii*, ϵ , θ *Pegasi*, which were then on long. 298° , 292° , and 299° , respectively. This date is February 21, 188 B.C., but no eclipse happened then.

To determine when this eclipse occurred, we have studied all the eclipses happening in the five and a half years before and the five and a half years after that date. Of the total number of 28 eclipses, 19 were invisible in China. Besides those whose location Oppolzer charts, the following eclipses need discussion: No. 2412 was invisible because 2 exeligmoi earlier No. 2169 was near the South Pole; No. 2415 was similarly invisible because 6 exeligmoi later No. 3216 was near the South Pole; No. 2422 also, because one exeligmos earlier No. 2299 was near the South Pole; No. 2430 also, because one exeligmos later No. 2559 was near the South Pole; No. 2431 also, because 3 exeligmoi later No. 1941 was near the South Pole; No. 2438 very probably also, because 6 and 7 exeligmoi earlier Nos. 1686 and 1552 were invisible in China.

Of three eclipses we cannot be sure: No. 2413, May 15, 193 B.C., 3 days before a *hsin-ch'ou* day, the sun being on long. 49.9° , for 2 exeligmoi later, No. 2670 was possibly visible in China and 3 exeligmoi later, No. 2805 was visible there, but the series was shifting rapidly out of China, so that we cannot tell about this eclipse; No. 2423, on July 27, 189 B.C., 29 days before such a day, long. 120.4° , for 2 exeligmoi earlier, No. 2179 was visible in China, but one exeligmos earlier No. 2300 may have been invisible there; in case this is the eclipse referred to, the 辛丑 of the text may be a mistake for 壬申; and No. 2437, on October 19, 183 B.C., 26 days after such a day, long. 202.5° , for this eclipse was probably just barely visible in Kao-t'ai, Kansuh, at sunset, but probably not visible east of that place.

There remain six eclipses certainly or almost certainly visible in China in this period of eleven years: (1) No. 2414, on October 9, 193 B.C., 24 days after a *hsin-ch'ou* day, the sun being on long. 192.8° ; it was merely partial, but 2 and 3 exeligmoi earlier Nos. 2170 and 2048 were both well visible in China. (2) No. 2417, on September 29, 192 B.C., 19 days after such a day, long. 182.1° ; in case this is the eclipse referred to, the 辛丑 of the text is an error for 辛酉 and Hoang's calendar is one day in error. This day was the first day of the ninth month in the emperor's third year. (3) No. 2420, on March 14, 190 B.C., 10 days after such a day, long. 349.6° , which was barely visible in north China. (4) No. 2425, on July 17, 188 B.C., which is recorded next. (5) No. 2429, on May 28, 185 B.C., also recorded later; and (6) No. 2434, 25 days before such a day, long. 21.0° , visible in southern China only, the unlikely adoption of which eclipse would require a change from the *hsin-ch'ou* of the text to 辛巳 and the supposition that the calendar is one day in error.

We may plausibly accept the emendation of the text which

would date this eclipse as (2) above, on September 29, 192 B.C., although recognizing that this identification is by no means certain.

The fifth eclipse is also recorded in *H. S.*, II, 6a: In the same year, "in the summer, the fifth month, on *ting-mao*, there was an eclipse of the sun (and it was a) total (eclipse)." *H. S.*, XXVII, iii, III, 13a, says that it was a day before the last day of the month and adds, "It was in the beginning of the Seven Stars 七星." The date is July 17, 188 B.C., on which Oppolzer locates his eclipse No. 2425. According to Ginzel's corrections of Oppolzer's location, the path of totality passed through Ning-hsia, northern Shensi, and a little north of K'ai-feng and the present Shanghai. But Hoang's calendar makes this day the last day of the month, so that there is an error of a day here. The Seven Stars are α , 2τ , $1\ 20$, $26\ F.$, and one other star in Hydra; in 188 B.C. α Hydrael was on long. 106.9° ; Oppolzer gives 109° for this eclipse. There is thus a close checking.

The sixth eclipse is recorded in *H. S.*, III, 3a: "In the second year [of the Empress of Kao-tsü] . . . in the summer, the sixth month, on *ping-hsü*, the last day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun." *H. S.*, XXVII adds nothing. The date is July 26, 186 B.C., but there was no eclipse on that date. However, for May 28, 186 B.C., 59 days previously, Oppolzer calculates his eclipse No. 2429. It was merely partial, but 3 and 4 exeligmoi earlier, No. 2063 and 1940 were both visible in China, and there was little change in the longitude of the noon points to these eclipses, so that this eclipse was also probably visible in China. We may therefore accept this date as the date of the eclipse. But P. Hoang calculates July 26 as the day preceding the last day of the month—his calendar is probably one day wrong here too.

The seventh eclipse is recorded in *H. S.*, III, 4b: "In the seventh year, in the spring, the first month, . . . on *chi-ch'ou*, the last day of the month, there was an eclipse and it was total." *H. S.*, XXVII, iii, III, 13b adds: "It was 9 degrees in *ying-shih* 燕室." It also adds the interesting statement, "The Empress Dowager [who had some murders on her conscience] said, 'It is for me.' The next year it was fulfilled," when she died. This date is given by Hoang as March 5, 181 B.C.; but Oppolzer lists his solar eclipse No. 2441 on March 4, 181 B.C. According to Ginzel's corrections, the path of totality passed through Chungking, Szechuan, north of Ichang, Hupeh, and through Haichow, Kiangsu. Here Hoang is again one day in error in his calendar. Furthermore, since the distance from the capital at Ch'ang-an and the region through which the path of totality passed is more than a hundred miles, the court astronomers must have had reports from other parts of the country to have been sure that the eclipse was total. *Ying-shih* is α and β Pegasi; at that time both those stars were on long. 315° ; Oppolzer calculates 340.5° .

The eighth eclipse is recorded in *H. S.*, IV, 9a: "In the second year [of the Emperor Wén] . . . in the eleventh month, on *kuei-mao*, the last day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun." *H. S.*, XXVII, iii, III, 13b adds, "It was one degree in *wu-nü* 女女." The date is January 2, 178 B.C., for which Oppolzer calculates his eclipse No. 2447. *Wu-nü* is ϵ , μ , and ν Aquarii, which were then on long. 277° , 279° , and 283° , respectively; Oppolzer calculates 279° —a very close correspondence.

In the *Historical Record* (*Shih chi*), after the account of the above eclipse, there is the following sentence: "In the twelfth month, on the day of full moon, there was an eclipse of the sun." The date is January 17, 178 B.C.; but eclipses of the sun cannot happen on the day of full moon, only eclipses of the moon happen then. Oppolzer calculates his lunar eclipse No. 1578 on January 16, 178 B.C., beginning about 6 a.m. at Ch'ang-an. This recording would lead us to infer that the astronomers kept records of lunar eclipses with their solar eclipses, although the historians of the time recorded only solar eclipses; by a mistake this lunar eclipse was misread as a solar eclipse (the words 日 and 月 are similar, especially if written carelessly). Here, too, P. Hoang's calendar is one day in error. Pan Ku evidently doubted this eclipse, for he left it out of the Han History.

The ninth eclipse is recorded in *H. S.*, IV, 11a; "In the third year [of Emperor Wêng], in the winter, the tenth month, on *ting-yu*, the last day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun." *H. S.* XXVII, iii, III, 13b adds, "It was 23 degrees in *tou*." The date is given by Hoang as December 20, 178 B.C., but Oppolzer's solar eclipse No. 2449 is calculated for December 22, so that the calendar is two days in error here. The longitude of *tou* was given previously (*cf.* the first eclipse) as 243°, 246°, and 252°; Oppolzer calculates the eclipse as 267°, a very close correspondence.

The tenth eclipse is recorded in the same place: "In the eleventh month, on *ting-mao*, the last day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun." *H. S.*, XXVII, iii, III, 13b adds, "It was 8 degrees in *hsü*." The date is January 21, 177 B.C. But there was no eclipse on that day. *Hsü* has been previously discussed (*cf.* the second eclipse) as on long. 285° and 289°.

Of the 25 eclipses in the five and a half years before and after that date, 19 were invisible in China. Besides the ones whose locations are given in Oppolzer, and those previously discussed, the following were invisible: No. 2440, for 2 exeligmoi earlier No. 2195 was near the South Pole; No. 2454, for 3 exeligmoi earlier No. 2087 was near the South Pole; No. 2456, for 2 and 3 exeligmoi later Nos. 2715 and 2852 were invisible in China; and No. 2457, for 6 exeligmoi later No. 3260 was near the South Pole. One eclipse is doubtful: No. 2455, on May 25, 175 B.C., 16 days after a *ting-mao* day, long. 60.3°, for 2 exeligmoi later, No. 2715 was very probably invisible in China, but 3 exeligmoi later, No. 2853 was visible there, so that this eclipse was probably invisible. In addition eclipse No. 2437 occurred on a *ting-mao* day, October 19, 183 B.C. long. 202°, but it was hardly visible in China (*cf.* under the fourth eclipse).

In those eleven years, six eclipses were visible: (1) No. 2441, on March 4, 181 B.C., previously recorded; (2) No. 2447, on January 2, 178 B.C., previously recorded; (3) No. 2449, on December 22, 178 B.C., also previously recorded; (4) No. 2452, on June 6, 176 B.C., 22 days after a *ting-mao* day, the sun being on long. 70.7°. In case this is the eclipse referred to, the 丁卯 of the text is an error for 辛卯 and the calendar is two days in error. This date was the first day of the fifth month in the fourth year; (5) No. 2459, on October 174 B.C., 22 days before a *ting-mao* day, long. 193.1°; and (6) No. 2460, on April 4, 173 B.C., 35 days after such a day, long. 10.6°. In addition, on May 6, 184

B.C., long. 41° , 9 days after such a day, No. 2434 was visible in southern China, possibly in Shensi.

We may plausibly accept eclipse (4) above as being the eclipse referred to here, adopting the emendation of the day therein suggested, and date this eclipse on June 6, 176 B.C.

The eleventh eclipse is recorded in *H. S.*, IV, 17b: "In the fourth year, in the summer, the fourth month, on *ping-yin*, the last day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun." But there was no *ping-yin* day in that month. *H. S.*, XXVII, iii, III says the eclipse was on the day *ping-shén*, which was June 9, 160 B.C., and that it was 13 degrees in the constellation *tung-ching* 東井, which is composed of the stars μ , ν , ϵ , γ , ξ , δ , λ , Gemini, whose longitudes were then 63° , 65° , 67° , 68° , 71° , 73° , and 78° . But Oppolzer lists no eclipse on that date.

Of the 34 eclipses in the six years before and after that date, 25 were invisible in China. Besides those located by Oppolzer and those previously discussed, the following were invisible in China: No. 2482, for 2 exeligmoi later No. 2743 was near the South Pole; No. 2483, for 2 exeligmoi earlier No. 2235 was also near the South Pole; and No. 2492, for one exeligmos earlier No. 2365 was near the South Pole.

Five eclipses were doubtfully visible: No. 2481, on March 26, 164 B.C., 14 days after a *ping-yin* day, long. 1.7° , for 8 exeligmoi earlier No. 1597 was visible in north China, but 7 exeligmoi earlier No. 1733 was probably invisible, so that we cannot tell about this eclipse; No. 2486, on March 5, 162 B.C., 3 days after such a day, long. 340° , visible only in southern China; No. 2499, on June 5, 157 B.C., 2 days after such a day, long. 70° , for, although 2 exeligmoi earlier No. 2760 was barely visible in China, investigation of the exeligmos curve shows that the eclipses of this series were rapidly shifting out of China; No. 2500, on October 31, 157 B.C., 20 days before a *ping-shén*, long. 215° , for 5 exeligmoi earlier No. 2009 was visible in China, but 4 exeligmoi earlier No. 2129 was invisible there; and No. 2505, on October 10, 155 B.C., 19 days after such a day, long. 193° , which was visible in central and southern China only.

Three eclipses remain which were visible in China: (1) No. 2489, on August 16, 161 B.C., 3 days after a *ping-shén* day, long. 140° . It was barely visible in northern China. If P. Hoang is right, this was the third year, seventh month, and second day. But we have found that he may be in error as much as three days, hence this eclipse might have happened on the last day of the sixth month. (2) No. 2477, on May 17, 166 B.C., 5 days before a *ping-yin* day, and 5 days after a *ping-shén* day, long. 51° . (3) No. 2509 on March 24, 153 B.C., 1 day before a *ping-yin* day, long. 0° . It was merely partial, but 4 and 5 exeligmoi later, Nos. 2907 and 3045 were both visible in China and the series does not seem to have been shifting much, so that this eclipse was probably visible in China.

Very likely the first of these three is the one referred to in the text, although we cannot be sure. We might then date this eclipse on August 16, 161 B.C. If so, Hoang's calendar is three days in error.

The twelfth and last eclipse is only recorded in *H. S.*, XXVII, iii, III, 13b: "In the seventh year, the first month, on *hsin-wei*, the first day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun." This date was February 9, 157 B.C., but there was no eclipse on or near that date.

Of the 35 eclipses in the six years before and after that date, 23 were invisible in China. Besides those whose location is given by Oppolzer and those previously discussed, the following were invisible in China: No. 2483, for 2 exeligmoi earlier No. 2235 was near the South Pole; No. 2490, for 4 and 5 exeligmoi earlier Nos. 1999 and 1873 were invisible in China; No. 2498, for 3 exeligmoi later No. 2128 was near the South Pole; and No. 2501, for 5 exeligmoi later No. 3172 was near the South Pole.

Of six eclipses we must remain doubtful: No. 2481, on March 26, 164 B.C., 9 days after a *hsin-wei* day (*cf.* under the preceding eclipse); No. 2486, on March 5, 162 B.C., 2 days before such a day, visible in south China only; No. 2499, on July 5, 157 B.C., 3 days before such a day (*cf.* under the preceding eclipse); No. 2500, on October 3, 155 B.C., 3 days before such a day (*cf.* under the preceding eclipse); No. 2505, on October 10, 155 B.C., 14 days after such a day, visible in central and southern China only; and No. 2513, on February 2, 151 B.C., 25 days after such a day, visible in central and southern China only.

During those twelve years, six eclipses were visible: (1) No. 2477, on May 17, 166 B.C., 10 days before a *hsin-wei* day; (2) No. 2489, on August 16, 161 B.C., 12 days before such a day, but this is probably the eclipse referred to in the preceding recording; (3) No. 2506, on April 4, 154 B.C., 5 days after such a day; (4) No. 2509, on March 24, 153 B.C., 28 days after such a day; (5) No. 2510, on August 18, 153 B.C., 28 days after such a day, and (6) No. 2512, on August 7, 152 B.C., 26 days after such a day, which is probably recorded later.

There is thus no single date that seems to have just claims to be the one referred to in this record. No plausible emendation of the text has been found, except ones suggesting eclipses Nos. 2486, 2499, 2500, 2513, and 2515, all of which eclipses were not likely to have been visible in the China of the time. It seems that even to Pan Ku or to his sources this eclipse was doubtful, for he did not include it in the "Annals"; it is only found in the list of eclipses in the chapter on the "Five Elements."

After discussing these twelve recordings, we may proceed to consider the further problem: what other unrecorded eclipses were there in these fifty years? Of the total number of 117 eclipses, 81 were invisible in China, 12 more might have been visible there, although we cannot be sure, and 24 were certainly or almost certainly visible there, of which only 11 were recorded. In addition to the 11 recorded, there was one about which even the historian seems to have had doubts and could not discover any logical date for it. In these fifty years, then, the court astronomers recorded less than one half of the eclipses that were visible, weather permitting.

The following are the 12 eclipses of whose visibility by the court astronomers we are not sure: No. 2397, on March 4, 200 B.C., for although 6 and 7 exeligmoi earlier, Nos. 2776 and 1642 were both visible in China, the length of time between them and this eclipse is so great that we cannot be sure; No. 2400, on August 18, 199 B.C., visible in southern and central China only; No. 2405, on December 21, 197 B.C., for 4 exeligmoi earlier No. 1915 was only possibly visible in China, although 5 exeligmoi earlier No. 1785 was visible there; No. 2413, on May 15, 192 B.C. (*cf.* under the fourth recorded eclipse);

No. 2423, on August 27, 189 B.C. (*cf.* the fourth eclipse); No. 2434, on May 6, 184 B.C., visible in south China only; No. 2437, on October 19, 183 B.C. (*cf.* the tenth eclipse); No. 2455, on May 26, 175 B.C. (*cf.* the tenth eclipse); No. 2465, on March 14, 171 B.C., for 3 exeligmoi later No. 2862 was barely visible, although 4 exeligmoi later No. 2999 was visible there, so that the series was shifting out of China; No. 2481, on March 26, 164 B.C. (*cf.* under the eleventh eclipse); No. 2486, on March 5, 162 B.C., visible in south China only; and No. 2499, on June 5, 157 B.C. (*cf.* under the eleventh eclipse).

The following eleven were recorded: the first, December 20, 205 B.C.; the second, May 17, 204 B.C.; the third, August 7, 198 B.C.; the fourth, probably September 26, 192 B.C.; the fifth, July 17, 188 B.C.; the sixth, May 28, 186 B.C.; the seventh, March 4, 181 B.C.; the eighth, January 2, 178 B.C.; the ninth, December 22, 178 B.C.; the tenth, probably June 7, 176 B.C.; and the eleventh, possibly August 16, 161 B.C.

In addition to the preceding eleven, the following 13 occurred but were not recorded: No. 2384, on August 6, 206 B.C.; No. 2385, on January 1, 205 B.C.; No. 2396, on October 8, 201 B.C.; No. 2402, on August 26, 197 B.C.; No. 2408, on June 6, 195 B.C.; No. 2410, on May 26, 194 B.C.; No. 2414, on October 9, 193 B.C.; No. 2420, on March 14, 190 B.C.; No. 2459, on October 10, 174 B.C.; No. 2460, on May 4, 173 B.C.; No. 2470, on August 17, 169 B.C.; No. 2475, on May 28, 167 B.C.; and No. 2477, on May 17, 166 B.C.

Bad weather might have accounted for the failure to observe some of these eclipses; in Shensi it rains for as much as two months steadily in the summer, and in the winter there are dust storms; but for the rest of the year the skies are generally clear and fine. These missed eclipses are scattered through the months of January, March, May, July, August, and October. It is noticeable that in the years 188-176, during which 6 recorded eclipses happened, none were missed; whereas between 174 and 165, five eclipses happened and none were recorded. Is this difference due to a weather cycle or to a change in the responsible astronomer?

From the above discussion, there emerge several conclusions: first, the remarkable faithfulness of Chinese astronomers to fact. There is not the slightest evidence that they falsely asserted the occurrence of eclipses for political purposes or to warn an erring emperor, as has been sometimes said. The reign of the unpopular and criminal Empress of Kao-tsü came in this period, but no eclipses were fabricated to warn her.

Secondly, we find errors of recording or transmission of the text. In five out of the six eclipses that in their present form do not check with astronomical calculations, we found that a simple emendation would provide a usable date. In one case, that of the lunar eclipse, we found evidence to show that the error was probably made in transcribing from the original astronomical records. Such errors are not unusual nor serious and to be expected in such early writings. Out of twelve recordings, only one proved inexplicable.

Thirdly, we found that, sometimes at least, the court astronomers kept records of lunar as well as of solar eclipses, though the historians did not consider them worthy of recording.

Fourthly, the astronomers of the time did not record even half

of the eclipses that were visible, weather permitting. In some periods they recorded all visible eclipses, in others, none.

Fifthly, even our best calendars of correspondences between European and Chinese dates may be in error as much as three days in this period. We have used other calendars besides that of P. Hoang, and have found them no better. A study of eclipses should be of assistance in correcting those calendars.

Sixthly, the Chinese records of the positions of the sun at the time of an eclipse were very likely calculated, not observed. Except in a total eclipse, the stars cannot be seen at the time of an eclipse, and we found one case (the second eclipse) in which the Chinese location of the sun agreed approximately with the mistaken date given in the history, but not at all with the actual location of the sun at the actual date of the eclipse. These locations are thus of little help in dating an eclipse.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

TAO : the Great Luminant, *Huai Nan Hung Lieh* (淮南鴻烈).—By Evan Morgan; undated (1934). S. \$5.00. 288 pp. octavo. Obtainable from Kelly & Walsh, Shanghai.

Dr. Morgan by producing this book has enrolled himself in the group of Sinologues who have rendered signal service to the world by translating the classical writings of China into western languages. The earlier books of Taoism are those of Lao Tzū himself (*The Tao Tê Ching*), Chuang Tzū, Lieh Tzū, the author of the *T'ai Shang Kan Yin P'ien*, and last but by no means least Liu An, young prince of Huai Nan (122 B.C.).

The cryptic utterances of the *Tao Tê Ching* afford a basis for endless speculation and it is only in the other writings that we can see the outlines of a philosophy of life. Dr. Morgan's introductory essays on Taoism and his selections from Huai Nan form an exposition rather than a mere translation. This is perhaps as it should be, since in such a system of thought as early Taoism a literal translation might easily be quite unintelligible.

The volume includes seven introductory essays on Lao Tan (Lao Tzū), Liu An and the principal concepts of Taoism, followed by translations of eight of the twenty-one sections of Liu An's work, followed by notes and annotations of the translation, and analyses and a list of the titles of the 13 sections not translated and two cosmic diagrams.

Dr. Morgan uses the expression "Cosmic Spirit" for Tao. As Dr. Ferguson indicates in the preface his own expression, "Nature," is not quite adequate. "Tao is Nature, but it is more; it is Nature at work." *The fact is that such words do little but serve as tokens for whatever the thinker chooses to make them.* The modern, unconsciously anxious to avoid theological implications, uses the words "Nature" ("That which is to be born") and "Providence" ("Foresight") where an earlier generation would have written "God." "Cosmic Spirit" has perhaps the advantage of implying universality and vitality. The reviewer thinks that the word "God" would be even better in many cases.

Similarly with regard to "Wu Wei," which is the key-note of Taoism. Dr. Morgan emphasises that it is not "In-action" but rather permitting the Negative (= Tao) to act, and not attempting to force things to the individual will. Here again words mean but little and discussion is futile. Taoism means quietism, non-resistance, the avoidance of force etc. but always in conformity to Nature. Having regard to things as they are, it may be satisfying to the individual and beneficial to the world, as a lesson by individual lives. History seems to show that quietism has never been adopted as a general mode of life, although Burma, parts of India and China have approximated to it for short

periods. Of Christianity in its contemplative aspect the same may probably be said.

One of the most interesting parts of the book is Chapter V entitled "The Response of Matter to the Movement of the Cosmic Spirit," put in Chinese tersely as *Tao Ying* (道應) i.e. The Response of Tao. This consists of a series of extracts from the *Tao Tê Ching*, the application of which is illustrated from Chinese history. Many of these examples seem very forced and artificial but a study of them will probably give a far better idea of the Taoist mentality than any amount of speculative reasoning on the basis of European thought.

If the fundamental feature of a "higher" religion is to enable the devotee to see things "*sub specie aeternitatis*" and so transcend the fear of individual suffering and death, then the *method* of Taoism may be said to be the yielding of self to the tranquil but inevitable processes (Tao) of Nature. According to the ancient beliefs, the more completely this surrender is carried out the more the devotee becomes "informed" with the spirit. There are said to be three stages in spiritual development. The "sage" (聖人) *knows* the truth, the "true man" (真人) *feels* it and in the "perfect man" it is perpetually present.

Taoism is almost at one with Buddhism, Sufism and Quietist Christianity in this, and Dr. Morgan well portrays the principles which animate the Taoist. The section on militarism in relation to Taoism is very curious in its contradiction. An interesting point in relation to the much discussed meaning of the Buddhist "Nirvana" ("extinction") suggests itself. The ideal of quietism appears to be the attainment of Unity with the Cosmic Process (variously conceived) to the extent.

On p. 30 "Kuang Tzu" should be "Chuang Tzu" as this "K" in the Sacred Books of the East is a convention for "Ch." On p. 256, note 9 (referring to the text p. 60) the order of the planets given does not conform to the Chinese characters. 火惑 is Mars, 太白 Venus, 歲星 Jupiter, 辰星 Mercury and 鎌星 Saturn. These names also appear in Ssü-ma Ch'ien's "Shih Chi" and it would be interesting to know if the "five element" names were really used for the planets in Han times. On the same page of the text (60), there is an interesting reference "Heaven has 366 days" which agrees with the *Yao Tien* section of the *Shu Ching*, although the Julian year of 365 1/4 days was known in Han times.

On p. 260, note 28, "names" should be "fanés." On p. 261, note 8 "one" should be "five." A very good book, to which the printers might have done better justice.

H. CHATLEY.

A History of Early Chinese Painting from the Han Dynasty to the end of the Yuan Dynasty. By Osvald Sirén. 2 vols. 12½ × 8¾ in. Bound in buckram, gilt top, 300 pages of text, and 228 plates in collotype. London: The Medici Society, Ltd. 1933. £7 7s. net. 500 numbered copies.

These magnificent volumes, dedicated to that patron of Far Eastern research H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Sweden, while incidentally serving to enhance the esteem in which Professor Sirén is held as an art-historian, disclose more than ever before the surpassing wealth of Chinese pictorial art. The author, distinguished member of the staff of the National Museum of Stockholm, is at present in China continuing his researches towards completing this great work to a later period. It is obvious, however, to one who peruses the pages of the present monumental achievement that in fact the greatest part of his work has

been accomplished—that of abundantly delineating and illustrating the early historical development of Chinese pictorial art.

The author's inspiration is disclosed in the Preface as growing out of an early enthusiasm aroused by his contacts with Chinese paintings at the Boston Museum and the Charles L. Freer Collection, then at Detroit. Subsequent visits to China emphasized to him the spiritual appeal exercised by certain kinds of Chinese painting, which he proposed to deal with, dwelling little on the historical traditions. This would, however, have proved an inadequate treatment and he was led ultimately to penetrate deep into native sources of historical and aesthetic information for the reconstruction of the early periods of Chinese painting, often in the absence of examples of the actual paintings themselves. Thus the emphasis in this work is on historical lines. Discussion of stylistic evolution is thrown somewhat into the background "centred around certain leading personalities whose individual characteristics could be, at least to some extent, defined on the basis of still existing paintings and to use the historical records mainly as a support or a complement for this purpose." Particularly are the native sources and contemporary historians and prominent connoisseurs permitted to speak very largely for themselves. Thus Dr. S.'s. text is enriched with the *ipsissima verba* of the Chinese themselves in elucidation of features of a world of art felt only as an implication in some of the early schools of Occidental painting. He has thus astutely shifted to the creative artists themselves the major onus of discussion of art instead of its *creative expression*!

Thus Dr. S.'s. method is clear; the development of the theme is chronological, and the work of successive artists through the centuries is discussed from native source materials, illustrated by the excellent collotype reproductions. To begin with, the striking feature of the early perfection of Chinese pictorial art as we know it from surviving examples (whether originals or early copies) is noted, indicating that even before Ku K'ai-chih (2nd half of IVth cent.) there had apparently been a long period of technical exploration and achievement. Prior to this artist we have actually nothing but the literary traditions of a great development of wall-paintings expressed particularly in portraiture in the late Han period and still evidenced in surviving engraved or low relief stone and brick slabs from tombs in Shantung, Honan and Shensi. These, making only tentative attempts at tridimensional composition, have motives derived mostly from Taoistic legends or mythological stories. Their scenes fascinate by extraordinary rhythmic vitality in the lines. With the invention of the camels-hair brush, whenever that may have been, the peculiarly Chinese relationship between calligraphy (with which Wang Hsi-chih is for ever associated) and painting began. Materials of painting were now established with silk and paper both available. The period of early origins to the introduction of Buddhistic themes having run, the classical era of Ku K'ai-chih, with his surviving examples, and other early masters such as Chang Sêng-yu, ensued in Wu. Determinating on Chinese painting were now the Six Rules of Hsieh Ho formulated in the Ch'i dynasty (479-501).

To follow with Dr. S. in detail the majestic procession of Chinese pictorial art achievement through successive dynasties and centuries must be left to the reader of this great compendium save for the few following indications: T'ang painters and their work reached high perfection. The immortal Wu Tao-tzü is held foremost of Chinese painters, ancient or modern, with his vast influence particularly on Buddhist iconographic forms in China. His contemporary Wang Wei (699-759) was equally great but with little in common with Wu Tao-tzü. Dr. S. devotes some twenty pages to these great names, generously quoting from native critics and sources. Landscapists and animal painters now come into their own;

forms which reach their perfection, with painters of birds and flowers, in the ensuing Five Dynasties and Sung eras. A painter of the refined Nanking court deserving special mention is Chou Wén-chü* who specialized in the representation of elegant court ladies, and whose female figures with the coiffures and paint patches suggest the strongest influence upon even recent Japanese modes.

The second volume deals in three parts with the Northern Sung, the Southern Sung, and the Yuan periods. It is representative, with its splendid reproductions, of Chinese pictorial art at its period of most abundant efflorescence. Age of outstanding cultural attainment in philosophy, in literature, in remarkable efforts at political improvements and social reforms—if disastrously enough in political decline—the Sung painters represented a school of nature especially in landscape, and in all natural objects. Names of Kuo Hsi, Mi Fei, Han Kan and Li Lung-mien scintillate among many other almost equally great painters. Even “unlearned foreigners” are aware of these immortals of the Chinese brush! The Emperor Hui Tsung, an artist and critic of note himself—destined to a tragic exile at the hands of northern barbarians—founded an Imperial Academy of Calligraphy and Painting which continued to influence the Hangchow School after the “Southern trek” (*nan tu*) of the Sung house thither. To Hui Tsung is due the famous catalogue *Hsüan-ho Hua P'u*, one of the main sources of information about the painters of the T'ang and Northern Sung period. Dr. S. has given us here a translation of the famous *Lin Ch'u'an Kao Chih*, The Great Message of Forests and Streams, Kuo Hsi's elucidation of the aims, methods, motives, and technical points of landscape painting as transmitted by the artist's son, Kuo Ssü. This is doubtless one of the most valuable among the many native sources translated.

The final chapter of the period thus far treated by Dr. S. is that of the alien Mongol domination. Some of the painters of the Hangchow School (Southern Sung) worked under the Yuan. Among these was most conspicuously Chao Meng-fu who reached high official position in the service of the Mongols. Meng-fu with Kao K'o-kung, Huang Kung-wang, Wang Meng, Ni Tsan, and Wu Chen are regarded as the six great masters of the Yuan period. The first was a traditionalist, an adherent to the “Spirit of the Ancients,” “a prominent representative of the somewhat archaeological current in Chinese art, which from now onwards often served as a substitute for fresh ideas.” The aesthetic ideas of the Yuan period were expressed particularly in landscape painting and in paintings of bamboo and plum-blossoms. Religious paintings greatly stimulated by the Mongols' adherence to Lamaistic Buddhism, developed the well-known type of hieratic Buddhist pictures distinguished by unusual decorative beauty and ornamental refinement without strictly being works of art. Yen Hui's name is associated with the painting of the meditating Ch'an ascetic.

Forthcoming volumes of Dr. Sirén's work will be eagerly anticipated by all students of Chinese art.

ESSON M. GALE.

Confucianism and Modern China.—By Reginald F. Johnston, K.C.M.G. LONDON, Victor Gollancz. Pp. 272, 7" x 5". Price 8/6 nett.

The substance of this volume was first delivered as lectures in the University of Bristol. There is no one more competent than Sir Reginald Johnston to deal with the matter. He has moved within the circle of some of the chief actors in the events of the past decades in North China. It is an excellently written book

* A very beautiful scroll, “Ladies weaving Silk,” attributed to this artist, is in the collection of Mr. William Ching at Shanghai. Seals and colophons suggest at least a very early origin to this example.

dealing with Confucianism from many points of view, vigorously and gracefully expressed. It is a valuable record of things new and old. The revered sage of the past has found a most knightly defender, and, when Confucianism flourishes once more, it is not unlikely the author will be found amongst the chosen disciples and be honoured by a niche in this temple of fame, as Marco Polo has found his amongst the 500 Lohans.

The book may be divided into 3 parts. 1. What is Confucianism. 2. Its relation to the Modern China. 3. Notes. The first is not included in the title but the author felt it should be stated. The second tells of the relation between modern China and the ancient culture and depicts the fortune of the cult in face of a republican form of government and the onset of new thought and ideas. It looks on the things that await Confucianism on the morrow of present events. The third contains much information and the notes abound with interesting quotations that show the wide reading and careful observation of the author.

Is Confucianism able to meet the strain of modern ways and practices? Soon after the revolution a leading Confucianist exclaimed, "No prince, no country." Politically, that expression contains the essence of Confucianism. As in the performance of the ancient and august ceremonies of sacrifice and worship of Heaven, a heaven-appointed agent in the person of an emperor must discharge the function, so the Heaven-appointed representative of a nation is necessary for its well-being and success. Can Confucianism bear the high tension? Many questions turn round this point and not the least interesting is that of the position of the chief exponent of Confucianism living to-day, Mr. Chêng Hsiao-hsü, the Prime Minister of "Manchoukuo." * He is one of those men who are loyal to the House that lifted them to honour rather than to the country. The position seems more consonant with the view of Mencius expressed, in short, "People first, community second and the king has third place." And though Mencius is part of Confucianism, his view seems opposed to the general doctrine of Confucianism which gives first place to the ruler. But it is a ruler of high moral qualities.

The author opens his account of the principles of Confucianism by quoting 14 Confucian texts which were selected by the Prime Minister of "Manchoukuo." Mr. Chêng Hsiao-hsü. In the estimation of this authority here we have the cream of Confucianism. It is well to have this; for the question is not infrequently asked 'What is Confucianism?' 'Is it a religion, or philosophy or a system of ethics?' This succinct account will be a good help to answer enquiries on the matter. In addition the author gives other chapters on the system, such as 'The cult of ancestors': 'political loyalty': 'music and ceremonial' and 'filial piety.'

There has been much controversy over ancestral worship. The author blames the missionary community for bias against the practice. The cult may be looked on as being a very beautiful ceremony. When the family gathers, to feel that the spirits of the departed are near them, though they are not seen through the veil of flesh, may be a very spiritually ennobling experience. Unfortunately, the Chinese have degraded the idea by the introduction of the corpse—a member of the family is chosen to represent the dead—he eats the food and so on. To materialise the ceremony in this way spoils it. Further the spirit's return is not altogether cordially welcomed. But the living rejoice at the three days grace and liberation given to the 'ghost' and so receive it with honour: but when the time is up they are glad to see the last of the visitor. The *kuei* is liable to be fierce and dangerous. There is much to be said against the superstition and the best solution about its observance is for the Christian community to decide for itself without direction from the missionary organisation.

* The resignation of Mr. Chêng has been reported since this was written.—*Ed.*

The author does not fully answer his own question whether Confucianism is a religion, but he finally prefers to say that it is a life rather. He has discussed the question however in a luminous way and introduced many passages that deal with the subject. On the whole the view presented seems a reasonable one and shows the attitude of the sage to be discriminating. It is unquestionable that he believed in a Supreme Being and in the moral governor of the universe: but how far his nature could be understood and what personal relationship could be had is not very clear from the records left. If the author had dealt more fully with the ceremonies and music a more positive answer could be found on the religious question. The ancient cult of the *chiau* and other sacrifices were organised and carried on in ancient days, the rituals concerned with these were rigid and exacting in their obligations: the place of music in the worship of the spirits was all of a religious nature. It is presumed that the Duke of Chou elaborated all the rites that he did not create. Undoubtedly all these august functions of the worship of Hao T'ien Shang Ti, the Great Lord of Heaven, formed a part of Confucianism. It is too often forgotten that it is not merely a system of morality for human guidance and direction as to how to govern, but these august functions of the state in its worship of the divine powers were the emotions that touched all their morality with life, and giving it a completion that embraced religion as well as the other elements. The ceremonies have undergone many vicissitudes, but through all changes the basic idea of the worship of Heaven remained: and the worship only ended when the revolution ushered in the reign of a pseudo-democracy and the altar of Heaven was no longer required, since there was no emperor to discharge the ritual functions. There is a shyness on the part of many that keeps them from acknowledging the religious element as though that detracted from its excellency. This need not be.

The moral standard of Confucianism is high and the estimate of the learned author may be fully supported. Nevertheless this does not give it such a preeminence as to qualify it to be the religion of the future. As the author advances a comparison it must be taken up. A system should be judged from its content and its method. Granted that the content has a standard that would bear comparison with Christianity the method is far inferior. The opinion of the Public Orator of Cambridge University may be submitted. Dr. Glover says, "Everything must be according to Christ and in these words Paul sets the standard of conduct higher than any other teacher of the world." Further, Confucianism has failed in the position it has accorded to woman.

In the criticism on Confucianism showing its failure, etc., the author asks the perfectly legitimate question, 'if the advocates of Christianity in view of the many failures apparent in the life of Christian countries to-day attribute the failure to the fact that Christianity has never been properly tried,' why not offer the same defence to Confucianism in the face of the moral failure of the system in China. The question is fair. But this has to be said, that it is the followers of Confucianism who say that it is insufficient. They do not say it never has had a chance but that it has had a chance and failed. That is they attribute a good deal of the backward state of China to the insufficiency of Confucianism. It is not spiritual enough to meet the demands of modern life.

In connection with this comparative valuation there is one point which must be noticed and that is the affirmation that Confucianism is free from the taint of *rewards and punishments*. Mr. Chêng says that, in this respect, it is superior to the foreign religions. But it should be remembered that Christ set the same high standard. "Be ye perfect even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." That is the standard. "Ye must be good because ye are the children of God." But in Christianity there is further set forth the judgment to come.

It is as well that men should consider that sombre fact and there is no valid reason why it should not be considered a fair and just factor in the government of life. But it is claimed that Confucianism is free from the stain of such a selfish impulse towards goodness as is given by rewards and punishments? It must be that the chief modern exponent of the teaching has overlooked important sentences bearing on the question. Let us give one or two. A very common one is, *Shun T'ien erh ts'un ni T'ien erh wang*. 'Obey heaven and you abide, offend heaven and you perish.' Another, *Shang Ti pu shuang*. 'God makes no mistake,' i.e., if you sin you die. *Tso shan chiang chih pei hsiang tso pu shan chiang chih pei yang*. 'On him who does good a thousand blessings will fall, on him who does not do good a thousand calamities will fall.' There are many other similar warnings. Rewards and punishments are certainly made use of in Confucianism for encouragement to goodness and warning against doing wrong.

The author quotes the opinion of Mr. Bertrand Russell that Confucianism is concerned with trivial etiquettes, and so on. Dr. Denney of Glasgow, once said that he had failed to find in the sayings of Confucius any striking note of life. Many similar views have been expressed. How then, it may be asked, has it come about that one of the most solid and comprehensive systems of morality has not created more enthusiasm than it has? How has it failed to impress those students of the humanities in a more remarkable way than it has? It contains truth of universal application and yet it has won no great admiration. The reason is not far to seek. It deals with the commonplace; it deals almost in platitudes. It states ordinary things in an ordinary way. In saying this no derogation to its merits is implied. It is ordinary in the sense that the multiplication table is ordinary. Twice two are four is a flat statement. The reviewer has enjoyed many hours in reading the texts and has derived no little pleasure from the effort. Yet there has been nothing to fire the imagination. Confucianism lacks the dazzling qualities of Taoism. But the former won: its appeal was to the more ordinary and practical side of life.

No space is left for the discussion of the other section of the book. It is a most useful contribution. Much is made of the desire of the exponents of Christianity to belittle and supplant Confucianism. Is this quite the case? It is true there have been extreme views expressed but on the whole it may be said with confidence that there has been nothing but friendliness shown by the missionary body towards the teaching of Confucius. The classics have been studied in all educational institutions; there has been no attempt to ban Confucian learning. It is only since the advent of the present regime that this has been done and done by the authorities.

With regard to the establishment of Confucianism as a state religion the author may be partial to the opinion that the protestant opposition was strong. To most it was a matter of indifference and where there was hostility it was on the ground of harm to the state rather than from any fear it would be injurious to the Christian propaganda. There was a desire to see China taking the same position as Japan under Count Ito. The author is confident that if Confucianism had been made the state religion there would be no persecution. He quotes the case of England. He has forgotten the times when there was severe persecution and people were sent to the stake. De Groot has written that Confucianism has been a most intolerant creed. So after all it may be the best thing for the country not to be saddled with an established cult.

From these remarks it will be seen that the volume is full of controversial matter.

EVAN MORGAN.

The Chinese Periodical Press 1800-1912.—By Roswell S. Britton, Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai 1933.

This book is a very valuable contribution to the history of modern China. The development of the Chinese press reflects—better perhaps than anything else—the changes in thought, outlook and style which have occurred in China as a result and as a reaction to Western influence.

Mr. Britton studies his subject in a chronological order. He points out the two roots of modern journalism in China—the old Peking Gazettes and the dailies and periodicals started by foreigners on Chinese soil and in the Chinese language. He then deals with the development of newspapers along modern lines and with the rôle they have played in the Chinese reform movement and in the overthrow of the monarchy. As the book does not concern itself with the period subsequent to 1912, it only gives a few, but interesting, hints as to the present situation of the press.

As early as during the T'ang dynasty, news of the imperial court were circulated on bulletin-like sheets. Printing was used in the gazette business; probably in the Sung dynasty and certainly in the Ming dynasty. The *Peking Gazettes* were regular periodicals that contained only official communiques, i.e. news from the court, imperial edicts and decrees and memorials presented to the Emperor. Their total circulation over the whole empire reached some tens of thousands. They constituted for their publishers an independent and self-supporting business. Copies were rented as well as sold. There was no advertising whatever. There was no censorship but all news was released by the Imperial court. These releases even satisfied a certain demand for criticism on behalf of the public—which consisted chiefly of the literati—because the censors' reports with their often violent attacks on abuses were also printed in full. Besides these official gazettes there also existed since early times occasional popular sheets giving sensational news of any sort.

The first Chinese periodical established by foreigners was a monthly magazine published in Malacca from 1815 to 1821 by members of the London Missionary Society. Next came a weekly published in Macao. In 1833 a Chinese periodical was started by missionaries in Canton; it was less religious than its predecessors and its principal object was to familiarize the readers with the Western civilization considered as vastly superior to the Eastern one. Then there were English and Portuguese papers published in Malacca and Macao. The most important venture was probably *The Chinese Repository* begun at Canton on 1838. Its twenty volumes are a valuable source of information for the period concerned.

A Chinese monthly was published in Hongkong 1853-1856. It had a news section which steadily increased in volume. It was the time of the Taiping Rebellion and people began to be interested in the disparity of the news released by the Court and that which transpired through foreigners. A little later regular newspapers began to develop in Hongkong. The chief figure in the early development of Chinese journalism in Hongkong was Wang T'ao, a graduate in the civil examinations, who had had some connections with the Taipings. He fled to Hongkong, where he helped James Legge in his translation work. In 1873 he founded the "Tsun Wan Yat Pao." The commercial section of this paper was very important, for shipping and market news were of great value to the growing Chinese business community in Hongkong. There was also a section of general news presented in good literary style. "Wang T'ao was bold in his attacks on corrupt Chinese officials. Secure from the Manchus, and safe so long as he did not offend the British colonial government, he addressed recommendations for reform to the imperial court of Peking."

In Shanghai there seem to have been in 1870 three or four Chinese periodicals undertaken as commercial ventures by foreigners. Then there were the missionary papers. The most noticeable missionary editor was Young John Allen, who in the course of 47 years conducted a variety of Chinese papers and magazines and a translation service. The newspapers in a foreign language—the *North China Herald* was founded as a weekly in 1850 and the *North China Daily News* started publication in 1864—as well as the missionary periodicals published in Chinese, influenced the growth of modern Chinese journalism.

The first important Chinese daily in Shanghai was the *Shun Pao*. It was founded in 1872 by a British proprietor Frederic Major. The editors were Chinese and the first editor gave it a rather literary character. But soon a different trend prevailed and the success of the paper was essentially due to its news service. This gave an account of the political sequel of the Formosa massacre of 1871 and of the French invasion of Annam. At the end of the Franco-Chinese hostilities, the statesman Li Hung-chang himself published in the *Shun Pao* a long historical defense of China's sovereign rights to the territories taken by France.

Several other newspapers in Shanghai did not meet with the same success as the *Shun Pao*, but in 1893 a rival arose in the *Sin Wan Pao*, founded by a group of Chinese capitalists. It is well known that from 1900 to 1929 Dr. John C. Ferguson had a controlling interest in this paper.

On the eve of the Sino-Japanese war about a dozen newspapers existed in different places in China. The owners were interested in profits only; they regarded newspaper publication as just another form of western business. The newspapers had a style of their own "following in general the terse syntax of the current literary style but using familiar characters so far as possible." Almost without exception the new daily papers used foreign printing equipment.

It was only after the Chinese defeats in the Sino-Japanese War, when the Reformers gained influence, that newspapers were used as instruments of propaganda. It was especially the brilliant writer Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, the only one of the early revolutionaries who will survive as an "homme de lettres," who established crusading journalism in China. The periodical *Shih Wu Pao*, which he published in Shanghai from 1896-1898 contained translations (a life of Washington for instance and a history of railway development in Great Britain) and much original matter written by Liang Ch'i Ch'ao himself; this magazine was the very gospel of reform and quickly became known throughout the empire. "The viceroy of Nanking, Liu K'un-I, recommended the *Shih Wu Pao* in strong terms to his subordinates and the governors of progressive tendency similarly encouraged its circulation." Many provincial towns had their own reform papers. In Shanghai the *Su Pao*, registered at the Japanese Consulate, was of a more violent revolutionary character.

The reformers infused a new spirit into the press. The periodicals ceased to be commercial ventures and became essentially instruments of propaganda. And these magazines succeeded in drawing into their own channels much of the literature which in other countries and under different circumstances would have been published in book form.

After the reform movement had been crushed by the Empress Dowager certain revolutionary editors changed their minds and became reactionary. But the folly and weakness of the Boxer movement gave new courage to the revolutionists and the number of subversive publications increased rapidly. At the same time officials began to use newspapers for their own ends. In 1901 Yuan Shih-kai founded his own paper in Tientsin and the practice of subsidizing newspapers in order to control them became quite popular and has survived to this day. But in spite of everything, antagonism against the government became

an emotional focus for patriotic groups of all opinions. Revolutionary publishers made the most of extraterritorial rights and of the concession area in Shanghai to promote anti-Manchu agitation. The *Shih Pao* was founded in 1904 in Shanghai and was the first to print pungent editorials instead of the old essay-like articles.

Meanwhile the chief reformers had set up residence in Japan. It was in Yokohama that Liang Ch'i-ch'ao edited several periodicals widely circulated in China. It was also in Japan that the organs of the T'ung Mêng Hui, later to become the Kuomintang, were published.

The revolutionary movement achieved its ends and the old imperial system was destroyed. "The relation of the independent press to political affairs was reversed after the revolution. During the revolutionary decade the newspapers had to join the popular cause in order to gain a profitable circulation. After the revolution, and especially during the second decade of the republican era newspapers had to refrain from political criticism in order to remain in publication. The independent press rather withdrew from the responsibilities and risks of public leadership especially in politics and prospered as it had begun on the basis of news service."

Mr. Britton concludes his book with an excellent bibliography and a number of interesting plates reproducing covers of the Peking Gazettes, pages of the old popular news sheets, of the early Chinese periodicals published by missionaries, of the first issue of the *Shun Pao*, etc., etc.

No student of modern China can afford to ignore this excellent book on the production of which Mr. Britton must be heartily congratulated.

L. UNGERN STERNBERG.

History of the Peking Summer Palaces under the Ch'ing Dynasty —By Carroll Brown Malone. With a Foreword by Edward T. Williams. *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.* (Vol. XIX, Nos. 1-2), U.S. \$3.

In this delightful study Dr. Malone has been most successful in re-creating for us not only the physical aspects of the Peking Summer Palaces in their successive stages, but also the daily life of the Emperors and their families in the long periods—often more than half of each year—which they spent here in preference to the formalities of the Peking Court. For, as is coming more and more to be the case with the well-to-do of our own day and in our own countries, these old Chinese rulers found the comparative simplicity of life at their country estates more conducive to their best work, in all forms of activity, than the elaborate complexity of life in the city. According to Father Benoit, (the French Jesuit priest who was so closely connected with the landscaping of the foreign buildings built along the north edge of Yüan Ming Yüan by the Italian Jesuit Castiglione) the great Emperor Ch'i'en Lung "spent only about three months in the palaces in Peking, during which he was constantly occupied with the ceremonies. Just before the lantern-festival in the first moon of the Chinese year he regularly went with his family to live in the Yüan Ming Yüan; and except for his hunting trip in Tartary, and occasional trips for ceremonies in the city, he lived at Yüan Ming Yüan for the rest of the year." The informality of Ch'i'en Lung's daily life at his beloved Summer Palace is brought out by a delightful touch in Father Benoit's account:—"When His Majesty goes to walk in his palaces or in his gardens, he has his meal wherever he happens to be when mealtime comes." But perhaps the most startling item in Father Benoit's account of Ch'i'en Lung's habits is that "the time for his dinner is regularly at eight o'clock in the morning!"

So rich is Dr. Malone's work in intimate pictures of the daily life of the Emperors at their various Summer Palaces, and in accounts of the pageantry of the processions to and from the grounds and the solemn ceremonies within, that it is a temptation to devote to them the whole of a review. As the present reviewer, however, has been asked to write of this work chiefly from the standpoint of his own specialty, architecture, he is obliged to refer the reader, for further insight into these other fascinating matters, to the work itself.

At the outset, most of us will have to confess to a previous misconception as to the relative extent and importance, in the great aggregation known as the "Summer Palace," of that portion built in foreign style—which we have usually been accustomed to think of as one of the main features of the whole scheme; whereas Dr. Malone's excellent "Sketch Map," on Page 52, shows clearly that the walled-off area devoted to these "Foreign Buildings" was less than five per cent. of the total area. In fact, their very existence at all is ascribed to "the whim of Ch'ien Lung to erect some examples of European architecture in a remote corner of his villa." One cannot but wonder whether Dr. Malone might not as well have applied to these foreign buildings themselves his comment on Ch'ien Lung's attitude toward their contents:—"It seems a pity from our modern point of view that this intelligent Emperor, who took such a keen interest in the wonders of science himself, did not see more in these European contrivances than clever tricks for his own imperial amusement, curiosities to be stored in his private European collection." The widespread misconception as to the comparative importance of the foreign buildings is explained by Dr. Malone:—"Chinese buildings, even palace buildings, consist so largely of wooden pillars and a timber frame for the roof that they are particularly liable to be gutted by fire. The foreign buildings at Yüan Ming Yüan also suffered; but being more largely constructed of masonry, left more imposing ruins than most of the Chinese buildings." (*Apropos* Dr. Malone's "imposing ruins" the writer cannot resist the temptation to quote a remark made to him by H. G. Wells while viewing New York City with him from the top of a skyscraper—"Did you ever think what an imposing ruin New York will some day make!?)

Fortunately for our present-day understanding of these foreign buildings, the Emperor Ch'ien Lung had his artists execute as "the first attempt at engraving on copper made in China under the eyes and by the order of the Emperor" a set of twenty plates showing, in series, this entire group; which Dr. Malone has arranged with photographs to show the present appearance of each, supplemented wherever possible by photographs taken at various earlier dates after the destruction of the buildings by British and French troops in 1860. These engravings and photographs, studied in connection with the large-scale "Sketch Plan" on Page 140 showing the General Plan of the entire Foreign group, enable us to visualize quite satisfactorily both the ensemble and the details of Castiglione's architectural effort as it met the eyes of Ch'ien Lung.

The General Plan itself is most entertaining. Beginning at the left (west) end of the group we have, first, the Hsieh Ch'i Ch'ü, or "Harmonious Strange and Pleasant," consisting of a three-story building with a pair of detached two-story pavilions at the ends of quadrantcurved galleries, with fountains and a pool in the space enclosed by the curved galleries, and a balustraded lake in the foreground.

On the east and west sides of the open space directly north of the Hsieh Ch'i Ch'ü were two small two-story buildings—Hsü Shui Lou or "Building for Gathering Waters," and, to the east, Yang Ch'iao Lung, or "Bird Cage." The latter, according to the engravings, was a most curious design, of which the east and west façades bore no resemblance whatever to each other; the west façade

being an adaption of the Chinese P'ai-lou, and the east a most extravagantly rococo concave affair.

To the North of this pair of buildings was the Hua Yüan, "Flower Garden," in the form of a maze, overlooked by a small two-story building on its north side. In the center of the maze garden was a small octagonal pavilion "where all sorts of mechanical singing birds were kept."

The next building, to the east, was Fang Wai Kuan, or "A Look Abroad," a small two-story building set well back toward the north enclosing-wall of the group, with elaborate semi-circular curved stairways leading up, beyond the two ends of the building, to the second story.

Then came the largest of all the foreign buildings, Hai Yen T'ang, or "Hall of Peaceful Seas," the main section of which contained the huge reservoir from which the numerous fountains throughout the group were fed, with Father Benoit's hydraulic machines in the higher pavilions at each end of the central section. A monumental pair of outside stairways led up to the top of the reservoir. In spite of its florid style, this great "Hall of Peaceful Seas" must have been a really handsome building, with its well-proportioned pilastered façades, its balanced pavilions, and its monumental east end elevation.

Next beyond came the central feature of this whole grandiose architectural scheme—the Ta Shui Fa, or "Great Fountains" either side of a large pool, to the north of which was a large three-section building, Yuan Ying Kuan, or "View of Distant Seas"; and, facing the Great Fountains from the south, the Kuan Shui Fa, or "View of the Fountains," a magnificent throne from which—(truly imperial touch!)—the Emperor could enjoy the picture spread before him—the two extremely high obelisk-like fountains surrounded by numerous small jets, the large pool in which many jets of water played on carved figures of animals, birds and fishes all playing among themselves, with the large gray brick Yuan Ying Kuan forming an effective back-drop.

Compared with the crowded western half of the whole of the architectural scheme of these foreign buildings, the eastern half is singularly empty; containing not a single structure which could really be called a building. Immediately east of the great central composition came the triple Hsien Fa Shan Mén, or "Gate to Hsien Fa Hill." Then came the hill itself with circular paths leading up to its crowning view-pavilion; then the Hsien Fa Shan Tung Mén, or "East Gate to Hsien Fa Hill"; then a large rectangular lake, some one hundred and fifty yards long by fifty yards wide; and finally, at the extreme eastern end of the whole foreign group, the most amusing bit of all—the Hu Tung Hsien Fa T'u, or "Hsien Fa Picture East of the Lake"—a representation of a European town seen across a lake. This whole thing was really a stage-set, with a series of five wing-walls on each side, on which the representations of houses were partly modelled and partly painted. The illusion of distance was produced by forced perspective, the wing-walls further back being for this purpose set nearer together. The last of the set of twenty engravings prepared for Ch'ien Lung shows this "Picture East of the Lake" as a most convincing illusion, with a distant city-wall and mountains painted on the east wall (or back-drop) of the stage.

Of all this group of "Foreign Buildings" (even though they had been built of masonry), a visit to the ruins by this reviewer in April 1935 revealed that almost nothing worth studying now remains on the site. Much of the stone sculpture, however, including many of the fish and animal forms for the fountains, is to be seen on sale on the sidewalks outside the curio shops in Peking.

The vast extent of the whole group, or rather collection of groups, which formed the Old Summer Palaces is hard to realize until one has wandered through it for hours, or stood on one of the earth ridges marking the site of a former

interior boundary-wall and surveyed the scene from this elevation. From such a point, a quarter of a mile northwest of the corner of the new Yenching University grounds, one sees an apparently endless succession of little hills, valleys, beds of former canals and lakes, bits of foundations, remains of stone bridges, etc., closely filling the ground as far as the eye can reach; for a mile or more toward the New Summer Palace on the west, another mile toward the Tsing Hua (Boxer Indemnity) College on the East, and for nearly a mile toward the open country on the north, what a vision of loveliness must have met the eyes of the French and British troops when they came to destroy the Summer Palace group in 1860! But more, anon, of that disgraceful act of vandalism.

Evidence of the exquisite loveliness, refinement and taste of the whole group of Summer Palaces, as it existed in the time of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung (1735-1796)—described by Dr. Malone as the mid-day of their “great day,” of which the dawn had come under his grandfather K'ang Hsi (1661-1722), and the sudden night was to come under his grandson Hsien Fêng in 1860—is given in the series of wood-cuts—“Forty Pictures”—of which five are reproduced in Dr. Malone's work. In addition to their great value in giving us the most complete record available of the landscaping and architecture of the Old Summer Palaces, these “Forty Pictures” are in themselves of great interest. “In 1744,” says Malone, “two court artists, T'ang Tai and Shêng Yuan, painted for the Emperor a remarkable set of forty views” of the palaces, in which “the perspective follows the western principle of a common vanishing-point for all the buildings of a single group; suggesting that these artists had absorbed some of the ideas of the European artist Castiglione with whom” (in the designing of the Foreign Buildings for Ch'ien Lung) “they had previously collaborated.” In the same year the Emperor himself wrote two volumes of “Imperial Poems on the Forty Scenes of the Yüan Ming Yüan” (Yü Chih Yüan Ming Yüan Ssü Shih Ching Shih). A set of wood-cuts depicting each of the forty scenes, and closely resembling the forty paintings, was drawn by Sun Yu and Shêng Yuan, and published with Ch'ien Lung's “Poems,” together with an introduction (printed in red in Vol. I) by Ch'ien Lung himself. “This imperial publication,” says Dr. Malone, “testifies eloquently to the Emperor's joy and pride in his favorite garden palace.” A lithographic facsimile “Yü Chih Yüan Ming Yüan T'u Yung” of the original 1744 edition (complete down to the printing in red of Ch'ien Lung's “Introduction”) was published in Tientsin in 1887; of which this reviewer was recently privileged to examine the copy in the possession of Hon. Nelson T. Johnson.

Nothing could be lovelier than the picture presented to us in these “Forty Scenes” of the Old Summer Palace. Properly regarded, as Dr. Malone points out, as a collection of separate scenes with little relation to one another, this vast Garden Palace “intended for the private life, devotions and recreation of the Emperor,” consisted of a great number of comparatively small rectangular courts, surrounded by one-story buildings with rounded ridges, with an occasional double-roofed building for the more important functions—the latter type having the sharp ridges and half-gables characteristic of the formal Forbidden City palaces. The various buildings composing each court-group were joined to one another by dainty covered ways; while balustraded canals, spanned at frequent intervals by gracefully curving “tiger-back” bridges, enlivened the approaches. Everything was designed to contribute “an atmosphere of privacy amid the beauties of nature.” On a large marble tablet set up in the inner courtyard of the Ancestral Shrine, and covered with an elaborate pavilion, Ch'ien Lung inscribed his own ideas of the purposes of his father and grandfather in building Yüan Ming Yüan; from which the following delightful excerpts are taken from Dr. Malone's full quotation:—“Rooms for study, courtyards, pavilions on land

and over the water, hills and pools scattered here and there, were ornamented not elaborately but simply, not richly but unostentatiously. He planted various flowers and trees which grew as though in rivalry and smiled to meet him..... The wind among the pines and the moon over the water entered his breast, inspiring thoughts of beauty. In small and large halls he received his officials and scholars, and discussed with them literature, the classics and history. His leisure hours(!) were spent in singing, composing poetry, and in meditation. My Imperial Father attended to duty first and pleasure afterward, as did my Imperial Grandfather before him, that everything under Heaven might be 'perfect and bright.' The meaning of YUAN, 'round' or 'perfect' and MING 'bright' is the golden mean of the gentleman. My Imperial Grandfather bestowed this name on the Garden, and it was respectfully received by my Imperial Father as his own motto Every Emperor and ruler, when he has retired from audience and has finished his public duties, must have a garden where he may stroll and look about and relax his heart otherwise he will become engrossed in sensual pleasures My Imperial Father did not richly ornament the palace; the buildings were spacious and open, the hills and dales were secluded and quiet, the configuration of the land and the plants and trees well arranged and beautiful. He had enough tall buildings and deep rooms, and was quite satisfied. Protected by Heaven and blessed by Earth, it is a place of recreation worthy of the Emperor; there is none better."

Within the space of this review it would hardly be practicable to enter into detailed architectural analysis of the many buildings described by Dr. Malone, or even of those shown in his clear reproductions of five of the "Forty Scenes." Indeed, their elusive charm, as indicated by some of their names, might be impossible to recapture in such an analysis—"The Peony Terrace"; "A Painting by Nature"; "Library of the Green Wu T'ung Trees"; "The Village of Apricot Blossoms"; "Seize the Old, It Contains the Present"(!); "The Long Spring Lodge of the Immortal"; "Peach Blossom Cave"; "Dwelling of the Moon, Earth and Clouds"; the Ancestral Shrine "Vast Compassion and Eternal Blessing"; "Library of Collected Fragrance"; "Sun, Heaven, Topaz Roof"; "Placid, Contented, Peaceful, Quiet"; "Reflections on the Water and the Fragrance of Iris"; "A Stream and Trees and a Bright Lute"; "Happy Place of Falling Streams"; "Fishes Leap and Birds Fly"; "Elegant Color of the Western Peaks"; "Library of the Four Delights"—(flowers in spring, breezes in summer, moon in autumn, and snow in winter)—"Happy Sea"—(the largest lake in Yüan Ming Yüan)—"Double Mirror and the Sound of the Lute"; "Stone Resting in the Running Water."

While most of these poetically-named groups seem, from the woodcuts, to bear architecturally a general resemblance to the more elaborately planned of the old Chinese residential compounds of Peking (of which this reviewer has had the pleasure of visiting many in the Imperial City surrounding the Forbidden City), there was one, at least, which was quite different. The Ancestral Shrine, in the northwest corner of the Yüan Ming Yüan—the most important feature, architecturally, in the whole of the Old Summer Palace group,—was a monumental composition of which the main feature, in the customary place of honor at the rear of the court, and raised on a lofty and massive red-walled terrace, was a handsome double-roofed palace which might have held its own amidst the dignity and grandeur of the Forbidden City. Dr. Malone gives the cost of this splendid building, built by Ch'ien Lung in 1742, as 600,000 Tael. With its imposing array of ten great columns across the front, its marble-balustraded terrace, and its roofs of golden yellow glazed tiles, this magnificent Ancestral Hall, rising superbly from amidst the comparatively modest and naturalistic architecture of the rest of the Summer Palace, must have produced an effect of

dignity and majesty befitting a temple which was to be exclusively the family shrine of the Emperors.

In connection with this Ancestral Shrine it is of interest to note that two of the most beautiful of the architectural features adorning the fore-court to the group—the great carved columns, thirty-foot monoliths of marble, which flanked its entrance-pailon—were placed, (when the ruined Yüan Ming Yüan was being denuded of its sculptured relics in the early years of the Republic) in the hands of the missionary Yenching University for safe keeping; and the writer of this review, as Architect of the Yenching group, called for those two magnificent old columns to be placed at either side of the entrance-bridge, just inside the Gateway, where they now proudly stand as symbols of co-operation between the great Republic of the West and the newly-founded Republic of China.

With regard to the destruction of the Summer Palaces in 1860 by the allied French and British troops, it is difficult to write with restraint. No matter what crimes certain individual Chinese officials had perpetrated against the foreign soldiers of the Anglo-French Expedition sent to Peking to enforce the Tientsin Treaties of 1858, there could be no possible justification for the destruction of this unmatched vision of beauty. As Dr. Malone points out: "Although some of the British and French writers tried to justify the looting of the palace on the ground that it was a lawful prize of war, there is really no valid excuse for it. The several authorities on international law who have discussed this particular case have agreed that it was a reversion to primitive practises." And to quote Prof. Garner:—"No consideration of military necessity can be pleaded as a defense for the destruction of monuments of civilization, nor can it be justified as a legitimate measure of reprisal." The British Prime Minister characterized the burning of the University of Louvain by the Germans in 1914 as "the greatest crime committed against civilization and culture since the Thirty Years' War—a shameless holocaust of irreparable treasures lit up by blind barbarian vengeance"; and Dr. Malone points out that his words "could be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, with still greater force and for a longer period of time to the losses to Chinese culture in the looting and burning of this greatest collection of art objects in the whole Chinese Empire." A young British artillery captain, later to become famous as "Chinese Gordon," wrote of this memorable scene:—"Owing to the ill-treatment the prisoners experienced at the Summer Palace, the General ordered it to be destroyed, and stuck up proclamations to say why it was so ordered. We accordingly went out, and after pillaging it, burned the whole place, destroying in a most vandal-like manner most valuable property you can scarcely imagine the beauty and magnificence of the palaces we burnt. It made one's heart sore to burn them these palaces were so large, and we were so pressed for time, that we could not plunder them carefully." A peculiarly tragic accidental misinterpretation of the official British order is pointed out by Dr. Malone:—"The name Yüan Ming Yüan meant to the British not only the single enclosure of the name, but the whole group of palaces in the Summer Palace region. So by a mistaken idea of the meaning of a word, not only the Yüan Ming Yüan and the gardens closely adjacent, but also the palaces and temples on the Wan Shou Shan, the Jade Fountain Park, and even the imperial buildings at the Hsiang Shan were devoted to the flames." And so "a palace filled with gardens which had become famous in Europe, and with priceless treasures of architecture and art of every sort which powerful monarchs could accumulate from a rich and populous Empire and its dependent states during a period of two centuries, a palace hurriedly abandoned by its occupants and defenders, lay at the mercy of an army of men who were considered by the Chinese as barbarians, and who

by acts of vandalism during the next few days did much to prove the truth of the Chinese opinion of them."

In closing this review, we cannot do better than to quote, with admiration, from the resumé so beautifully phrased by Dr. Malone:—"The devastated site of the Yüan Ming Yüan to-day can give us little conception of that famous palace in its prime. The official map of the buildings and grounds clears away the debris and restores the gates and walls, buildings and hills, canals, roads and bridges to order and harmony. The "Forty Pictures" replace the palace buildings on their foundations and revive the trees on the denuded hillocks and the lotus blossoms in the reedchoked pools. The scales of wages and prices in the 'Yüan Ming Yüan Tsé Li' recall the cartmen to hauling timbers and glazed tiles for the roofs, the sculptors to their carving of dragons of white marble, the furniture-polishers to the work of completing the interior decorations. The 'Jih Hsia Chiu Wen K'ao' returns the buildings to the use of the Princes and rewrites the inscriptions hanging on the walls. The 'Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien' summons the Palace-guards to their posts at the gates and the gardeners to their flowers. The 'Imperial Poems' bring the Emperor himself, tired from his audiences with officials, to the delights of literature, art and nature. Living descendants of men who saw the palaces in their splendor keep the traditions alive. All these sources contribute to our conception of the Yüan Ming Yüan when it was still the favorite garden palace of the Son of Heaven."

HENRY KILLAM MURPHY.

The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien Lung.—By Luther Carrington Goodrich. Baltimore, Waverly Press, Inc., 1935. Pp. XII; 275. Paper U.S.\$2.50; Cloth \$3.

This, the first of the studies in Chinese and related civilizations published under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies, is a notable contribution in the field of American scholarship. It takes its place beside Carter's 'Invention of Printing in China' and Shryock's 'Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius,' although Mr. Goodrich confines his study to a more specific subject and a more limited period than his two predecessors. In technical qualities the theme is admirably developed. The book's content throughout maintains a high degree of interest. Original contributions are made to our concepts of Manchu state policies, corrective of the conventional ideas hitherto held. In a word Mr. Goodrich has adequately fulfilled the intention of the donor whose generosity has made possible the publication of this excellent volume to honour the memory of Charles James Moore, a pioneer collector and student of things oriental.

After a brief Preface, the familiar but apparently indispensable note on romanization of Chinese words, and a list of frequently used Chinese characters transliterated into English, the author addresses himself to his subject. An Introduction discloses the time-honored practice in China of destroying books, notoriously performed by the "First Emperor" (IIIrd cent. B.C.) who however "was only following a custom already grown mellow by continuous princely observance, and practiced from time to time in the centuries which followed." Mr. G.'s. monograph deals, however, with only one chapter of this ancient custom in China, the censorship of books in the first half of the Ch'ing dynasty, particularly in the reign of the third Manchu emperor, whose reign-era (*nien-hao*) was Ch'ien-lung and who has continued so to be designated instead of as properly by his temple name (*miao-hao*), Kao-tsung. Thus this great Manchu

emperor, eulogized by the politic Jesuit missionaries as "doux et bienfaisant," is demonstrated in this study as a "despot." "For all the munificence of his gifts to literature, he stands accused before the bar of public opinion for his open interference with the independence of the scholars of his day, for his deliberate falsification of history, for his malice towards a score of authors (several deceased long before) and their descendants, and for his repeated burning of hundreds of books, woodblocks of many of them included." This is indeed a more than passing indictment of the grand monarch whom de Mailla lauded for his "sagesse" and whom the recorders of the Macartney Embassy extolled. The actual loss thus ensuing to literature is only partly known, although a valuable census of works, proscribed in part or in whole, which have survived Ch'ien-lung's inquisition, is given in Appendix I. There is hope too that other works either in hitherto unknown manuscript form, in older "uncorrected" editions of printed works, or copies saved in Japan, may be brought to light.

A note on the political setting—which in effect is a brief historical resumé of the alien domination of China beginning with the Liao or Khitans in the Xth century and culminating in the Manchu conquest—indicates the reasons for subversive, seditious, anti-dynastic writings on the part of the Chinese. The steps taken to suppress this rather harmless literary guerilla warfare against their rulers up to the Ch'ien-lung period served only in due course to infuriate the Chinese and imperil the Manchu hold on the country. Little attention in fact was paid to seditious writings in the K'ang-hsi reign until its last decade; in the reign of Yung-chêng the literary persecution grew apace. But as the sixty-year long reign of Ch'ien-lung progressed, the persecution of the scholars became more rigorous, culminating in the greatest move of all time for the preservation of literature, with as well, paradoxically enough, an epochal destruction of literary works. This was the formation of the *Ssü K'u Ch'uan Shu* 四庫全書.

The compilation of this immense anthology of examples of all Chinese literature was undertaken by a commission of scholars by command of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung in the 37th year of his reign (1772). The four general classifications ("treasuries") of the writings of the Chinese were represented: Classics (經), History (史), Philosophy (子), and Collections of belletristic works (集). The Emperor had already shown himself deeply interested in the preservation of at least orthodox literature, promoting new editions of the "Thirteen Classics," the "Twenty One Dynastic Histories," collections of T'ang and Sung poems and the like. The new collection for the imperial library, was not to consist of extracts from literary works as in the case of the great 16th century imperial encyclopaedia, the *Chin Ting T'u Shu Chi Ch'êng*, but of copies of complete texts; so that they might be preserved against possible loss. Orders were accordingly issued to officials throughout the Empire to send up collections of books from which selection of material worthy of preservation was to be made. On the other hand books found to contain material of an anti-dynastic or seditious nature were to be reported for inclusion in an *Index Expurgatorius* and to be otherwise dealt with. Thus hand in hand with the great work of perpetuating the vast literary heritage of China proceeded an unparalleled destruction of books.* Nothing was spared: short stories, romances, plays, poetry, belles-lettres, essays, encyclopaedias, commentaries on the classics suffered equally with historical matter, biographies, works on war and coastal defence,

* A note appears in this *Journal*, Vol. LXV-1934, pp. 194-5, by the present reviewer descriptive of this great Chinese Anthology, the history of the seven manuscript copies made, and its recent reproduction in part by the Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai. In giving references to studies of the *Ssü K'u Ch'uan Shu*, Mr. Goodrich omits to mention Prof. O. Franke, in Vol. XXXII of *Mitteil. des Sem. für Orient. Sprachen*, 1914.

geographical treatises, local gazetteers, collections of memorials and replies to examination questions, etc., 2,320 works are listed as for total suppression, 342 for partial, and 3 for erasure of a few objectionable words only. Not even the great Chu Hsi's recension *T'ung Chien Kang Mu* escaped emendation. In Mr. G.'s. opinion "the *Ssü K'u Ch'u'an Shu* and general literary inquisition were inseparably linked from the 39th year of Ch'ien-lung, when the first deliveries of books for the Four Treasures Library were made to Peking, up to the completion of all-copies of the former. The inquisition went on simply because, in the nature of things, it was a task which could never end, at least within the space of a single reign, even under the pressure of so highly organized a government as that directed by Ch'ien-lung. The period between 1774 and 1788 was characterized by a flagrant disregard of the rights of private ownership, and only a searching and prolonged study of journals and diaries of the time will reveal how it stirred the book-owning people to indignation against the Manchus."

The aim of the inquisition is given exhaustive consideration. The author lists at least eight tests which seem to have been used to determine a book's fitness to exist: A. Anti-dynastic or rebellious. B. Insulting to previous dynasties in a sense ancestral to the Ch'ing. C. Relating to the northern or north-western frontiers and military or naval defence. D. The works of certain proscribed authors. E. Heterodox opinion on the Confucian canon. F. An "un-literary" style. G. Accounts biased or unfavorable to the Manchus of the earlier Chinese-Manchu conflict. H. Relating to political parties. By the above tests very little of the pre-Ming literature was touched. Only two authors born in the Sung and three in the Yuan period had their books prohibited.

The inquisition fortunately soon fell into neglect. In the very next reign books were included in the Imperial Catalogue which had been listed in Ch'ien-lung's *Index*. Aside from the actual destruction of books, it is assumed that over a considerable period a loss to creative literature was caused by scholars holding themselves in check so as not to incur risks.

Over two thirds of Mr. Goodrich's book (pp. 75-232) is occupied with translations of biographies, memorials to the throne, edicts and proclamations on which his study is based. The work is laboriously supplied with elucidative notes at the end of each section. The printing is well done, and the Chinese letter-press very satisfactory.

ESSON M. GALE.

An Eastern Odyssey.—By Georges Le Fèvre. Translated and adapted by Major-General Sir Ernest D. Swinton, K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O. 365 pages. Illustrated with photographs and maps. Victor Gollancz Ltd. London.

An Eastern Odyssey, thanks to General Swinton, "Ole Luk-Oie," who as everyone knows was the much talked of "Eye-Witness" of the British Press during the Great War, and who, as very few people know, greatly contributed to the victory of the Allies by his invention of the tank,* is the stirring English version of the story of the Haardt-Citroen Expedition across Asia.

This expedition was conceived and executed by the late Georges-Marie Haardt with the financial backing of André Citroen and the collaboration of the National Geographic Society of Washington. Haardt, a pioneer in motor treks through inaccessible regions of the globe, was the first person to cross the

* See "Eye-Witness" by Major-General Sir Ernest D. Swinton, K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O. Hodder and Stoughton, Limited, London.

Sahara Desert by automobile in 1922 and it was he who led the Haardt-Citroen Expedition across Africa in 1924-1925. But the Asian Expedition was more elaborate and grandiose in plan than anything he had done before.

His idea was to offer an opportunity for scientists and artists to make a rapid journey, in the most up-to-date motor vehicles that existed, across the largest continent in the world in order to record by scientific study, photography, cinema and story, the rapidly changing face of Asia.

Reading the names of the members of the Expedition in the long and somewhat tedious introduction of André Citroen, one cannot but be impressed by the high calibre of the members of the group. To China readers, Father Teilhard de Chardin, the eminent geologist, well-known in scientific circles the world over, needs no introduction; nor perhaps do Professor Joseph Hackin, France's leading authority on Graeco-Buddhist art, nor Dr. Maynard Owen Williams, the delegate of the National Geographic Society of Washington, nor Alexander Iacovleff, the artist. George Le Fèvre, a brilliant journalist who acted as the historian, the naturalist, the cinema producer, the engineers and the others are not so well-known here but in their own land they rank high in their respective fields.

The prologue tells briefly of the plans which had been made for the journey, and how at the last moment, when Soviet Russia withdrew permission for the Expedition to pass through her territory, these plans had to be changed; how Haardt, undaunted by what seemed insurmountable difficulties—an uprising in Northern Afghanistan closed that door also—succeeded, with the help of the British, in setting forth at the appointed time through India. The change of route, however necessitated a change of plan and, as the crossing of the Himalayas by the famous Gilgit Road was no easy task, the Expedition was divided into two groups—the Pamir Group under the leadership of Haardt, which was to start from Beirut eastward, and the China Group under that of Lieutenant-Commander Victor Point, which was to start from Tientsin westward.

The first part of the book gives a graphic description of the journey of the Pamir Group from the Mediterranean to the foot-hills of the Himalayas. Although the average person, through reading at least, is more or less familiar with the route over which they travelled—Syria, Iraq, Persia—the author proves that even a "beaten track" can yield a variety of impressions. "In two weeks," he writes, "we had crossed the borders of Roman Syria, gazed on the lost glories of a Palmyran Queen accepted the hospitality of Kurdish camel-drivers and drunk coffee in a Bedouin tent. In that time we had shivered near the snows of Lebanon, stifled in the dust storms of Mesopotamia and been scorched by the burning sands of the desert. We had been received by a King, entertained by soldiers and acclaimed by Iraqi boy-scouts."

To the members of the Pamir Group, Persia proved somewhat disappointing. Old Persia, the land of art and poetry, was fast disappearing under the ruthless hand of progress. Modern garages were taking the place of tranquil road-side inns; new streets had been driven through the ancient city of the Shahs where colourless reinforced concrete was supplanting the delicate frescoes of old mansions. The beautiful palaces with their blue mosaics and mirrors of limpid water, the marble thrones, the halls decorated with gold and diamonds were all things of the past and it was only after a long search that the author discovered in an unpretentious house what he thought to be a glimpse of the "real Persia"—a group of athletes, who, following the traditions of the Sassanides, wrestled, boxed and twirled madly around as the tambourine player sang,

"Swept away O Persia, as the leaves of the plane tree by the desert wind,
thy masters succeed one another."

"But thou, ancient land of our ancestors, bowed down with suffering, yet proud of thy long history, remainest eternal."

In Afghanistan they saw at last the real East—unspoiled, ferocious, pious and colourful. Life there had not changed since the days of the Caliphs. Sorcerers still cast their spells, thieves were nailed by their ears to door ways and an adulteress was stoned in the streets. In this country "where every male is popularly supposed to carry a gun—of which any visitor may be the target" the French were astounded at the Oriental lavishness of their welcome. Roads had been repaired for their use, boats specially built to facilitate the crossing of rivers—an ever present problem to the traveller in Afghanistan—the cook of the royal household had been sent many days in advance to prepare them a feast and the highlanders from far and wide had been summoned to Mukur to entertain them with their frenzied war-like dances.

On reaching India through the famous Khyber Pass, the Expedition found itself once more "in the midst of tradition, established authority and all those fundamental conceptions of the Western World." In contrast, perhaps, to what they had seen before, what impressed them most was not the beauty of Kashmir, nor the splendours of the courts of the Maharajahs but the frank cordiality, the helpful assistance and the sporting spirit of the British. It is for this reason that the chapter on India is entitled "A British Welcome."

In striking contrast to the triumphant march of the Pamir Group, which crossed half of Asia and was welcomed and fêted in five countries, was the departure from Tientsin and the journey westward of the China Group.

There were difficulties from the very beginning. Georges-Marie Haardt had invited a party of Chinese scientists to join the China Group and, although doubtless both French and Chinese had a sincere desire to collaborate, a series of unfortunate misunderstandings arose. To smooth out these misunderstandings seemed more difficult than to overcome physical obstacles, for the equipment, which included a powerful wireless station, an up-to-date rolling kitchen, ample water reservoirs, a sound-film apparatus and other luxuries, was so well designed that it made the 2,000 mile crossing of the Gobi little more than a sporting undertaking.

To add to its troubles the China Group learned, on its arrival in Suchow, that a Muhammadan rebellion had broken out in Sinkiang and when it reached the Ming Shui Pass it came upon "a wooden post on which was written in Chinese: 'Danger. Don't go west. Hide your camels in the mountains and wait.'" A warning to which they paid no heed.

On crossing the borders of Sinkiang they found themselves in the thick of a battle. Their sudden and unexpected arrival completely demoralized the Muhammadans who had attacked a detachment of Sinkiang troops from ambush. Mistaking the cars of the Expedition for armoured Chinese cars, the rebels fled in all directions.

This might seem like an auspicious entry into any country, but Sinkiang, from the start, was a land of shocks and surprises, and an immediate difference of opinion between the Governor of the Province and the leaders of the China Group resulted in the immobilization of the French for many weeks and turned "An Eastern Odyssey" into an exciting and fascinating tale of adventure.

While the China Group lingered unwillingly at Urumchi, the Pamir Group started across the Himalayas. As a sporting proposition, Haardt decided to take two of the seven caterpillar cars with him in order to see how far they could go. They succeeded in reaching Gilgit, having thus crossed the main range of the Himalayas over the famous Burzil Pass at an altitude of 13,755 ft.

Anyone who has read Kipling's stories of this land, "still in a state of unstable equilibrium, unfinished and chaotic," will follow with interest the trek

of the Pamir Group. But for those who participated in that difficult journey there were worries and anxieties other than those of the undertaking. No news had come from the China Group and word had arrived that the permission for Haardt to enter China had been cancelled. It was only when he was camped within a stone's throw of the "Roof of the World" that he received a long-hoped for message—permission was granted him to enter China and four cars of the China Group would be allowed to leave Urumchi to meet him.

The first meeting took place at Aksu on October 8th, six months after the two groups had left their respective starting points, but it was only two weeks later, on October 23rd that Lieutenant-Commander Point met Georges-Marie Haardt in the grandiose setting of the Toksun Gorges.

United at last in Urumchi, the Expedition found, as other travellers have before them, that it was as difficult to get out of Sinkiang as it was to enter it. This situation gives the author the opportunity of writing one of the best chapters of the book, full of human interest, information and impartial observation.

Eventually, however, an agreement was reached between the Sinkiang authorities and the French and the Expedition started forth on its way to Peiping. It was already four months late in its schedule when it pushed once more into the Gobi Desert only to encounter a new obstacle—the cold.

"The task of looking after the cars in the long December nights with the temperature 20° below zero and neither water nor fuel available, proved a difficult one. If the radiators were emptied, the water had to be used again, but by next morning it had turned to solid ice which had to be melted. At such a low temperature as we were experiencing even boiling water froze when poured into a cold engine. The oil itself froze. Large fires had therefore to be kept going all night both to heat the water and to warm up the engines and oil-ducts from underneath. As all this called for wood, which was not abundant in the desert, we kept the engines ticking over."

For this reason Haardt decided to travel day and night stopping only for a few hours rest when absolutely necessary. Thus it was that the Expedition, worn out and exhausted, pushed its way on to the famous cities of Suchow, Kanchow and Ninghsia where the hospitality of the German and Belgian Fathers proved to be true "Christian Oases."

Continuing on their way through the famous "San Pu Kuan" region, where adventures were by no means lacking—bandits attacked them and once two of the cars crashed through the thick ice of a deep canal and were only extricated after hours of hard work—they reached, at last, Mongolia with its monastic cities and proud princes, descendants of Ghenzis Khan. They spent Chinese New Year as the guests of the prince of Hsi Hsü Ning and witnessed thousands of colourfully dressed Mongols receiving the blessing of the Panchen Lama. Gladly would they have prolonged their stay in this enchanted land but now the end of the journey was in sight.

"On the morning of 12th February, the 315th day since our departure from Beirut, we had only eleven miles to go, on an easy well-paved road bordered by monoliths, now with a row of trees on each side, now enclosed by stone walls, and now passing by shops, the swinging signs and gilded panels of which indicated the approach to a great town. Then in the midst of market-carts, rickshaws, old-fashioned coupés, wedding and funeral processions, we passed under a massive archway—the Western Gate of Peking.

'Mile 7,219.'

The Expedition succeeded in what it had set out to do but for the members the pride of accomplishment was swept away by tragedy. On March 16th, 1932,

the leader, George-Marie Haardt who had gallantly braved so many dangers and overcome so many difficulties, died of pneumonia in Hongkong.

B. S. P.

Chao Chün—Beauty in Exile.—By Shu Chiung [Mrs. Wu Lien-teh]. Shanghai, Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1934. S.C. \$5.

At the close of our review of Shu Chiung's book "Hsi Shih, or Beauty of Beauties," which was published a couple of years ago, a wish was expressed that it might not be her last. This wish has now been fulfilled. For in the fall of 1934, a copy of "Beauty in Exile" was received—a book which in daintiness of style, perfection of illustration and excellence of diction, equals, if not surpasses its predecessor.

A brief resumé of the narrative may give some idea of its quality, though the well-worded descriptions of scenery, character and ancient court customs of twenty centuries ago, have to be read in Mrs. Wu Lien-teh's own words in order to be appreciated. The whole thing reads like a fairy tale, which one can hardly believe to be historically true! But customs change with passing time, and the grandeur and pomp of the old Han dynasty has sunk into oblivion, never to return.

The story in point, so well known to Chinese scholars, resembles, in many respects that of Hsi Shih, the little silk washer of Hangchow, who like Chao Chün, was sought out for her extraordinary beauty, and entered into the magnificence and dangers of Chinese court-life. Both girls were sacrificed for the advancement of their country; both took with them, on their eventful life's journey a true friend; both became the victim of an unscrupulous and rascally courtier; both exercised a powerful influence over their royal consort; and both left behind the memory of virtue, courage and fine traits of womanly character. The sordidness and immorality of miscellaneous concubinage is not dwelt upon. So much the better, though it is implied in every line! Also the practical impossibility of conveying 500 young maidens, over hill and dale, on a journey lasting a month, and of one artist painting the picture of each girl for selection by the Son of Heaven, is left unexplained! The focus is centred on the priceless Dream Maiden and her remarkable fate. All else sinks into the background!

The heroine, an only child of respectable parents who doted upon her as truly as if she had been a son, was raised quietly amongst lovely surroundings of mountain, lake and fragrant lotus flowers, at a place called Chingmén in Hupeh. Every day brought fresh joy to the parents' hearts, as they watched her develop in mental and physical grace. Many suitors sought her hand, but were rejected, as unworthy of so priceless a pearl and the girl, herself, expressed a wish to remain always at her parents' side. Fate, however, decreed otherwise! For in the distant city of Si-an, in Shensi—then known as "Chang-an," the Emperor Yuan Ti, ninth sovereign of the Han dynasty, who reigned during the 1st century B.C., had a vision one night of a Dream Maiden, and got no peace of mind until she was sought out. Spell-bound and restless, he engaged his wily court-painter, Mao Yen Shou—an ambitious scoundrel of the deepest dye—to go on a journey of discovery, and to hunt throughout the length and breadth of the Celestial Empire for this pearl of womanhood. The Emperor warned him solemnly against bribery, which would stain the prestige of his glorious reign.

Up and down the land, therefore, travelled this trusted envoy—this unscrupulous rascal counting on high promotion. He gathered in his train 500

fair damsels, none of whom, however, could compare in charm with Chao Chün. And from them all he extracted monetary reward. At Chingmén the anxious parents yielded up their beautiful daughter, and thus, in due time, the cavalcade reached the Shensi palace, where Minister Mao was commanded to paint portraits of each girl for the monarch's selection! The picture of our heroine proved a masterpiece! But no flattery or eloquence of the painter made any impression on this Queen of Beauty who had been trained in true morality and steadfastly refused to pay the 400 ounces of gold demanded by the corrupt courtier and his accomplice.

Enraged and full of spite, Mao quickly added to her portrait a black mole beneath the right eye—a sign of ill-omen to the royal consort, and prophecy of calamity to the state. This evil act of deception had the desired result. For Emperor Yuan Ti, though enchanted by the wondrous likeness of Chao Chün to his "Dream Maiden," allowed himself to be gulled and overpowered by superstition. Thus the sweet girl was banished to the Cold Palace, without once setting eyes upon her sovereign. Here she pined for months in an agony of suspense, pouring out her broken heart on the *p'i-pa*, in such words as these:

"O! Supreme Heaven!
Have pity on this little one!
My heart is wearing out!"

Her sole comforter was her companion Li Wan Hua, a girl of studious habits and sunny disposition, who assured her friend that misfortune was often a blessing in disguise, and who urged her to patience and courage. This true helpmate also nursed Chao Chün through a severe illness, attending her with unceasing care. But still in the heart of the Dream Maiden was a girl's unquenchable desire for a good man's love!

In Chapter 6 the author introduces the reader to the Hsiung-nu, northern, nomadic tribes, of whom the Chinese lived in constant dread. Long was the struggle between them! But, at last, the Tartar chief resolved to do homage to the Emperor. He paid a state visit and was greatly impressed with the Emperor's generosity and courtesy. At length a treaty of peace was signed, to clinch which the Khan sought a matrimonial alliance between the two races. The lot fell on the beautiful Chao Chün, who in order to secure lasting peace for her beloved country consented to go. Before leaving for the North, however, she was presented to the Emperor in her gorgeous crimson dress, and of course Yuan Ti then discovered the trick played on him by the false Mao Yen Shou. The story tells that the courtier was executed, but as the poet Ou-Yang Hsiu says:

"And so Chao Chün, beneath her weary load,
Watering with tears each lowly wayside flower
With royal guards began her endless road,
The sport, also! of beauty's fateful power!"

The journey was long and hard, over rugged mountains and through rushing torrents. But, at length the young bride and her companion arrived at the court of the Khan, where the marriage was celebrated and she learnt to take part in horse racing and camel fights. Her influence grew. She became popular and secured a general pardon for all political offenders. The manners of the Court-ladies improved, and her gentle ways led her spouse to forsake his rough behaviour. A son was born. But the old Khan soon died, leaving her a widow of 22 years. According to Custom she married the eldest son, as the result of which two lovely daughters were added to the family.

In the year 20 B.C. Chao Chün again became a widow. She then engaged in

charitable work and taught the Chinese classics to her children. On the death of her son, in A.D. 18, she died of a broken heart, and was buried at Suiyuan, on the borders of the Flowery Kingdom. Thus ends a truly tragic story of ancient days. But it is so well told that we are sure it will be widely read; and for its author we prophecy many years of successful and happy literary work.

MARION L. MORGAN.

Children of the Yellow Earth.—By J. Gunnar Andersson. Translated from the Swedish by Dr. E. Classen. Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., London, 1934.

This book, while appropriately termed by the author a "popular account," is nevertheless a work bearing the stamp of profound scholarship. Material relating to a dozen different sciences and covering untold millenniums has been handled in an extraordinarily successful manner. In general the warp threads of the fabric as Professor Andersson has woven it represent the passage of time and the weft threads are composed of Cambrian trilobites, Ordovician fish, Jurassic plants, Cretaceous dinosaurs, sabre-toothed tigers, the Peking man, Neolithic knives and painted earthenware. Thus, for all its excursions into geology, botany, zoölogy, anthropology, archaeology, etc., the book remains a unified, straightforward and distinctly fascinating tale.

Admirable discretion has been used in framing each statement of fact or theory so that even the less convincing chapters on dragons, mystic rites and symbolism—which are indeed among the most delightful—leave one powerless to criticize. Reference, however, to the *Sinanthropus pekinensis* as "this early Chinaman" comes as something of a shock regardless of whether the term is traceable to a process of translation, to European usage or to the surprising authority of the Oxford Dictionary. In present day China the term is generally considered as distinctly objectionable.

The long list of important discoveries made in recent years is truly astounding and yet we are given the tantalizing promise of more, for we are told that "money, endurance, and a good flair are the three things which will produce new treasures." Assuming that "a good flair" includes scholarship I would add one thing: coöperation, without which this volume would never have been written. It is a monument to combined scholarship. Scandinavians and other Europeans, Oriental scholars, and Americans have worked selflessly toward a common end. Dr. Andersson has carefully compiled a record of their findings together with his own and thus produced a very readable "pre-history" of China covering some millions of years.

JAMES MARSHALL PLUMER.

China Magnificent.—Five Thousand Years of Chinese Art.—By Dagny Carter. John Day, New York. 1935.

The scope of "China Magnificent" is little short of amazing and one cannot help but admire the author's courage in attempting to describe five thousand years of Chinese art in something under 125 pages of text. The book, described as a "survey of China's artistic development" is divided into three parts, "The

"Age of Magic and Ritual," "The Age of Faith and Splendor" and "The Age of Artisans and Traders" which cover everything from Andersson's prehistoric pottery to the Summer Palace.

Merging art with history, Mrs. Carter charts a course that is essentially chronological. Her material, largely drawn with care from authoritative sources, is generally sound, though not always properly assimilated. With reference to the Classical period, for instance, she says that, "except for the symbolic jades, the only art objects which have been preserved from this period are the great ritual bronzes," and yet elsewhere she mentions or illustrates a marble torso, carved bone hairpins and white ceramics from Anyang as well as pottery and tiles of Chou. To ignore Fenollosa as she does in discussing the *t'ao t'ieh* is to tell only part of the story. To deal with Buddhism and overlook Coomaraswamy is to distort the picture. To say that Buddhism found "its chief artistic expression in the human body" is heresy.

At Yün Kang the author sees "the same dynamic, rhythmic element—at times almost athletic—so characteristic of Eurasian Animal Style Art" and is convinced of the "probable foreign origin of the sculptors" who "brought with them from their *pastures* in the North great sculptural traditions." Her pointing to Yün Kang as foreign and her admitting of Hellenistic, Indian and Persian influences do not tally with her final conclusion that Buddhist sculpture in China can be considered indigenous, in fact "quite distinct from the Indian and Central Asian Buddhist sculpture."

Omissions are inevitable, but one wonders that a page or more should be devoted to Marco Polo, yet not a line to the *Chien yao* bowls of Sung. And one questions, in the face of Buddhist remnants and records, that "bronzes, in the T'ang era, became almost completely secularized."

The author, even though offering no alternative, does well to suggest the dropping of the style name *Ch'in*. Personally, I think we are not likely to hit upon a better one than Bishop White's *Eastern Chou*. With regard to painting, two points are well made: that the insidious danger from copying was present ever since Hsieh Ho wrote his canons, and that in this branch of Chinese Art there lies a future.

Of the numerous illustrations, a few, such as the author's own Ordos bronzes, lack calibre; a few, such as the Tun-huang sutra detail and the Boston Tung Yuan scroll, fail to reproduce well; and a few are dubiously labelled. All in all the selection is fine, the majority being quite representative of the great art they are intended to portray.

"China Magnificent," if nothing else, is one person's condensation of a mass of material that few will have time to read. Yet, in laying down the book, we feel that something is missing—the inspired enthusiasm of Grousset, perhaps, or the scholarship of Cohn. Definitely, as a survey it fails to be important, but it may prove of real evangelistic worth among those who have never heard of China's age-long culture.

JAMES MARSHALL PLUMER.

Early Buddhist Scriptures.—By Edward J. Thomas. London: Kegan Paul, 1935.

This important contribution to the useful handbooks of Buddhist bibliography supplements Dr. Thomas' two earlier works *The Life of Buddha* and *History of Buddhist Thought*. Selections from the canon Tipitaka in translation

claim freshness and greater authenticity by reason of being based on the Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary*, completed in 1925. This work the author asserts has made earlier translations more or less obsolete.

To return to the book itself, we find that the author has assembled selections from the Buddhist Canon in order to present its main doctrines as impartially as the text of the scriptures themselves were compiled originally. The passages translated include thirteen on the life of Buddha, six elucidating the disciples' career, six on Nirvana which "corresponds to what in other religions is called salvation," seven selections on "Special Doctrines," four on "Buddhology," eight discourses to laymen, twelve selections dealing with the doctrines of dissident schools, and finally six on the monastic organization which is so characteristic of Buddhism.

The historical dating of the Buddhist canon in written scriptural form is briefly discussed in the Introduction. They definitely predate Asoka (accession 269 B.C.). The date 483 B.C. is given for the death of Buddha. Dr. Thomas' book has a definite place in the already vast bibliography of Buddhism.

E. M. G.

China's Problems and their Solution.—By Wang Ching-wei, President of the Executive Yuan, National Government of China. China United Press, Shanghai, 1934. Pp. XXII: 199. S. \$4.50.

The "China To-day" series, edited by T'ang Leang-li, and containing interesting and up-to-date information about various phases of life in China, will remain indispensable to those who are concerned in Oriental affairs. The second of the series is less a study than a survey of political, economic, social, national and international problems now confronting China, and the manner of their solution, by Wang Ching-wei, the President of the Executive Yuan and concurrently Minister for Foreign Affairs in the National Government of China. Although the book is not voluminous (only 199 pages including the index), yet it provides an exhaustive review of Chinese affairs ranging from high governmental politics and foreign policy to the importance of correct punctuation marks in official documents. Some of the topics dealt with by Mr. Wang are highly interesting even to those who are not in daily contact with Chinese politics, for example, chapters on dictatorship, use and misuse of military power, party government, efficiency in (governmental) administration, etc.

The book is well arranged, giving the reader the benefit of continuity, and it may be read at one sitting as a current history of China. On the other hand, the chapters, while co-ordinated, do not depend upon each other as far as cross reference is concerned but can be read individually.

In the beginning chapters, the author reviews the inheritance of imperial disunity, repeated acts of foreign aggression, the overthrow of predatory militarism, the disastrous heritage of feudalism and events in general leading to the 1911 revolution, with the object, as he states, of making the foreign and domestic problems of the National Government of China better known abroad among those who are watching the progress of events in this country. He then makes the definite statement that the only solution of Chinese problems is unification by reconstruction and he continues

nor is it possible or desirable to conceal the fact that the policy of attempting to bring about national unification by armed force—subsequent

to the establishment of the present regime at Nanking—has been a failure, and it is realisation of this very plain fact which has led me to advocate the policy of unification by reconstruction China is sick—and suffering from a series of complications, which may be described as general debility, a weak heart, and a tumorous growth It is obvious that the services of a surgeon to perform a major operation for the removal of the tumor are not yet needed, for the patient is not strong enough to stand the shock to the system. Something might be done to prevent the development of the growth, but the first thing necessary is to build up the invalid's strength and overcome the general debility. The working of the heart would be also improved, and so assist very materially in establishing a much better general physical condition. Then, with heart and body and mind all functioning more normally, the question of a surgical operation might be discussed if, indeed, by that time the cankerous growth had not disappeared of its own accord, as does sometimes happen when the patient's powers of resistance are stimulated. (Pp. 13-14).

Mr. Wang proposes agricultural reconstruction with improved communications and better education as complementary factors, so as to extend purchasing power and industrial development on the part of the farming population, "the back-bone of the nation." "More than eighty per cent of the population of China are engaged in some form of agriculture for a livelihood Moreover, the betterment of conditions among the farmers and peasants is necessary not only for the development of agriculture but also for the development of commerce and industry The so-called agricultural reconstruction is not a question confined merely to agriculture If we devote our attention solely to agriculture, to the neglect of all other political and military questions, it would be impossible to proceed with the program of agricultural reconstruction." (Pp. 24-25). A special chapter is given to the subject of the "Communist—Bandit Problem," examining the origin of the movement, Dr. Sun Yat-sen's opposition to communistic teachings, etc. Another chapter outlines the National Economic Council's work, assistance of foreign experts, China's relations with the League of Nations and evolutionary methods in place of force for the unification of the country.

What form of government is the best for China is discussed at some length by the author who touches upon the possibilities—or rather impossibilities—of dictatorship and quotes cases in foreign countries. (Pp. 64-66). The position in China is:

Applying the above considerations to present conditions in China, one finds a number of obstacles to the institution of any militarised control of the country's political administration.

In the first place, according to Article XI of the *Law Governing the Organisation of the National Government*, the President of the National Government Council, although representing the National Government of China, does not assume any direct political responsibility. Neither is he allowed to hold any concurrent posts. On the other hand, politically speaking, the highest political administrative organ is the Executive Yuan which, according to Article XV, is directly responsible to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuo-Min Tang. As for military affairs, the Military Affairs Commission of the National Government is the supreme authority. Unless, therefore, a fundamental change is first made in the entire political system which has been built up since the 20th year of the Republic (1931), it would be illegal to relegate all military and political power to any one single member of the Government.

Secondly, the tremendous expanse of our territory, coupled with the diversity of local conditions and lack of civic training on the part of our people, would immediately frustrate any attempt to concentrate all power with a single person. The tendency among our military to act independently of the Central Government and to exercise absolute authority within their respective domains not only constitutes a serious obstacle to the eventual development of a strong Central Government, but is likely to result in a wider gap between the Central Government and the local military, should attempts be made to curtail the authority of the provincial military for the benefit of one individual. Less than fifteen years ago Yuan Shih-kai made a strong bid for the rôle of dictator. His failure did not deter several others after him from making similar attempts, all of which, however, ended in fiasco. Neither the time nor the conditions of to-day warrant the existence of a dictatorship, and fundamentally, a military dictatorship is repugnant to the political instinct of the Chinese people. (Pp. 66-67).

A section on how the National Government functions (Pp. 88-89) is of special interest to general readers. Efficiency in government departments is, in the author's opinion, so important that he devotes a special chapter to the subject, condemning circumlocution, evasion of responsibility, pigeon-holing and inaction. He also stresses the importance of punctuation marks, when he says:

Once there was a young man who sent eight moon-cakes to his father, accompanied by a note written in Chinese characters to the following effect: "Enclosed I am sending you eight moon-cakes. Father, please accept them." Because the message was not punctuated, the father misread it in the following manner: "Enclosed I am sending you some moon-cakes. Eight fathers, please accept them." The old gentleman was bewildered and cried "Eight fathers! So I am one of them, but where am I to find the other seven?" This story, of course, is only a joke, but similar instances may be found in our judicial records. Once a young man died, and his parents sent his widow to her parents' home with a letter in Chinese to the following effect:—"We allow you to go to your parents' home and to get married again. You must not come back to serve your parents-in-law." A dispute, however, arose because the note was not punctuated and was read to mean: "We allow you to go to your parents' home. You must not marry again. Come back to serve your parents-in-law," a meaning entirely different from the original idea of the writer. These are examples of what the absence of punctuation-marks may lead to, and though such instances are not of common occurrence, they show the great importance of punctuation in writing Chinese.

The author reports on Chinese foreign policy in general and on meeting Japan's challenge in particular; he replies to criticisms of (alleged) weakness in international dealings. The book concludes with a digest of what has been done by the National Government in the field of national reconstruction during the last two years and what is to be done to bring China along the road to national salvation. The former includes development of railway systems, extension of postal services, construction of new telegraph and telephone connections, improvement of highways and shipping services, etc. The latter covers the unification movement, suppression of communism, militarism giving way to democracy, economic reconstruction and taxation reform.

This authoritative and informative survey of current conditions in China is presumed to have been written in Chinese, but it is so ably translated that the reader will find no difficulty in understanding fully these interesting and critical essays on Chinese politics. A biographical sketch of the author—very interesting

by itself—serves as a preface and informs the reader of Mr. Wang Ching-wei's childhood, life as tutor, student days in Japan, work as a revolutionary propagandist, attempt on the life of the Prince Regent of the Manchu Dynasty, and leadership of the National Revolution. He was once sentenced to life imprisonment because of his loyalty to his revolutionary colleagues.

On April 25, 1910, Wang was summoned to the Secretariat of Civil Affairs to hear his sentence, namely, condemnation to perpetual imprisonment. He was then taken before the Civil Secretary, Prince San Chi, when the following historic interview took place:—

Prince San Chi: "Is there any method by which the revolutionaries could be induced not to harrass the Government?"

Wang: "There is only one way, and no other, and that is to proclaim the Chinese Republic."

Prince San Chi: "You have been condemned to imprisonment for life. You are now facing death. Why don't you help us in putting matters right? We will treat you well if you only leave your Party."

Wang: "I know. But apart from the establishment of the Chinese Republic, I don't see any other way."

Thus Wang accepted his life-sentence. He was removed to the Civil Prison, the Bastille of China, where for the past 600 years all notable political prisoners had been confined or executed, including the anti-Boxer Secretaries in 1900, and the pro-Boxer Secretaries in 1901. He was resigned to meet death in three years' time, the normal period of existence in those days for life-prisoners, when the outbreak of the Republican Revolution secured his freedom again, (Pp. XVIII).

At the end of the book are appendices which include declarations relating to China's international aspirations, the alternative to civil war, land policy, cooperation between the central and local authorities, and projects of the National Economic Council for the year 1934.

T. FORD WANG.

The Labour Movement and Labour Legislation in China.—By Lin Tung-hai [Jefferson D. H. Lamb], PH.D., J.D., Adviser to the Ministry of Industry and formerly Professor of Social Legislation, Yenching University, Peiping. China United Press, Shanghai, 1933. Pp. XII: 252. S. \$6.

On the front page of the *North China Daily News*, Shanghai, March 13th 1935, appeared a startling item under the caption

China's Dangerous Clothing Styles.
Responsible for Numerous Serious Accidents.
Machine Shops Take Regular Toll.

The text reads, in part, as follows:—

The report of industrial accidents brought to the notice of the Shanghai Municipal Council during February strikes the following warning note:—"Several accidents resulting in serious injury to hands, arms, and legs were due to clothing being caught in gearing, shafting, or belts. The Chinese style of loose clothing—short coat, and the long sleeve—is quite unsuitable for use in machine processes and regularly takes its toll. A particularly serious occurrence happened on February 18, when,

on a metal rolling machine, a worker leaned over to adjust a water pipe. His clothing was caught in unguarded gears and a big wound inflicted on the whole of the back and thigh."

Such news—which we hope not to see too often in future, the past year having recorded a number of explosion cases on account of deficiency in accommodation, resulting in many deaths of labourers and their innocent neighbours—cannot but arouse acute interest in the problem of labour and the attempts at legislation. Not until recently have there been determined efforts to codify and enforce Factory and Mining laws with the view to regulating and protecting the teeming labour population in this country. Although labour traditionally constitutes one of the four social classes in China (*Shih, nung, kung, shang*—scholar, farmer, labourer and merchant), there had never been any labour movement and/or labour policy sufficiently significant to speak of in the several thousand years of Chinese history; it is only during the past two decades, after the overthrow of the *Ch'ing* Dynasty, that the importance of the labour problem has been brought out in its proper perspective, and that together with other social movements, a tremendous change has occurred in the public estimation of labour. As a matter of fact, it was—to be exact—in 1924 when the reorganized Kuomintang adopted a labour policy; before that time, legal protection of labour was virtually unknown in China.

It is also a fact that the labour problem has been neglected by writers. The author of the book under review therefore fills a long felt necessity of students of sociology and the general public interested in Chinese labour conditions. The work, as he says in his preface, is an attempt to give an account of the conditions under which Chinese wage-earners have lived during the period 1912-1931, taking into consideration not only economic, but also social and political aspects.

Mr. Lin first reviews the historical and international backgrounds and the revolutionary movement, which have had direct and indirect bearing upon labour. In chapter III details are given of industrial conditions and the position of the workers (1) including a general statement on (a) the supply of labour, (b) low wages and high cost of production, (c) women as wages earners, (d) exploitation of child labour, etc., (2) labour statistics, (3) scale of wages, (4) hours of labour, (5) standard of living and (6) labour as a social factor. Chapters IV and V deal with the Kuomintang's labour policy and labour movement under the auspices of the government. The development of mining and factory registration and labour union laws are recorded in subsequent chapters. The book concludes with a review of (1) conciliation and arbitration of labour disputes which occurred at Canton, Hankow, Shanghai and in various provinces, (2) miscellaneous legislation governing railway employees, fishermen, etc., and (3) the difficulties experienced in the administration of labour laws in China as compared with the West.

One special feature of the book is that the necessary statistical tables and graphs are given at the end of relevant chapters, instead of being dumped down at the end of the whole book. The present volume is a re-arrangement of a series of lectures delivered by the author at Yenching University, Peiping, while occupying the chair of Social Legislation, and of his research work undertaken under the Princeton-Yenching foundation. It forms one of the "China To-day" series and will be indispensable, so far as actual data on Chinese labour is concerned, to those who are interested in social problems. It would have been more valuable if the author, expert as he is on the subject he treats, had mapped out a constructive and evolutionary programme (in anticipation of the inevitable time when labour will cause greater trouble) for the gradual and progressive enforcement of labour laws beginning with the necessary elementary protection of and improvement of the labourers' condition, e.g., reduction of working hours,

sanitation, health and safety, elimination of child labour and general improvement of working and living conditions, in that whilst the necessity of such laws is great, there is no denying the fact that such laws cannot be put into effect with one stroke of the pen.

T. FORD WANG.

T'ien Hsia Monthly 天下. (Published under the auspices of the Sun Yat-sen Institute for the Advancement of Culture and Education, Nanking. Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai.

The galaxy of brilliant minds in China who now find expression as readily in English as in their own mother tongue, should be expected to seek a literary outlet in the former medium. One suspects that in this wise the effort of the scholarly editors of "Universe" (as the hoary expression "Beneath Heaven," 天下 is translated) has arisen. Between the scientific journals, professing pure sinology and hence of interest to the elect few only, and the florid publications with text and advertisement designed primarily to promote the "Orient cruise," there has lain hitherto an unfilled gap in the periodical devoted to China. Political science, to be sure, is adequately represented by new and older journals; one publication too seeks to provide for a wide variety of interests. Now comes *T'ien Hsia Monthly* bravely assuming the rôle of a purely literary organ, closely emulating it would seem such a publication as *The Atlantic Monthly*. Devoted as it admittedly is to an interpretation of China to the West, rather than of the West to China, opportunity is offered to go beyond the too frequently stylized subject matter of Chinese thought. A definite attempt is being made to mould this well-born, well-timed monthly into a really potent factor not only in promoting an informed opinion regarding Chinese culture abroad, but in stimulating an equal interest therein among foreign residents in China and foreign educated Chinese at home. This is evidenced by the excellent papers appearing in the first issue and those forecast for the second, which, introduced by a foreword by Mr. Sun Fo, include such writers as John C. H. Wu, Editor-in-Chief Wen Yuan-ning, the brilliant stylist Ch'ien Chung-shu, Owen Lattimore on his favorite subject the Mongols, and Lin Yutang.

SINOLOGICAL NOTES

A Poem by Su Tung-p'o.—The finding of a poem engraved in stone by a poet of such standing as Su Shih is an event of interest to lovers of his writings. A short while ago, Dr. Ecke, of the Catholic University, Peiping, sent me the accompanying photographs taken during a visit he made to a temple (靈巖寺) about one hundred miles south-east of Tsinan, in Shantung. In the wall surrounding the temple he found this poem at the end of which appears Su Shih's name (蘇軾). The photograph of the temple shows the exact position of the engraved slab in the wall, a little to the left of the edge of the temple roof. The other photograph gives the detail of the incised writing.

Referring to the authenticity of this poem, Dr. Ecke writes that "inside the precincts of the temple is a Tomb Monument dating from the early T'ang period. The celebrated Pi-chih Pagoda (辟支塔) seen on fig. A dates from the year 1057, while the temple hall itself may partly also be of Sung date, at least in its outer appearance." He adds that Teng I-chih (鄧以軒), one of the best living art-critics in China, "holds that the writing cannot be later than Sung, though he considers that the style is not the common one used by Tung-p'o." The claim of the Chih-shu (知書) of the temple, the most important one in Shantung, that the poem is genuine is supported by the fact that it may be found in various editions of the poet's Works under the title "*Climbing the Cloud-Dragon Hill*" (登雲龍山). It is also ascribed to Su Shih in 灵巖寺志. Other poems referring to this same hill, too, are included in the poet's works.

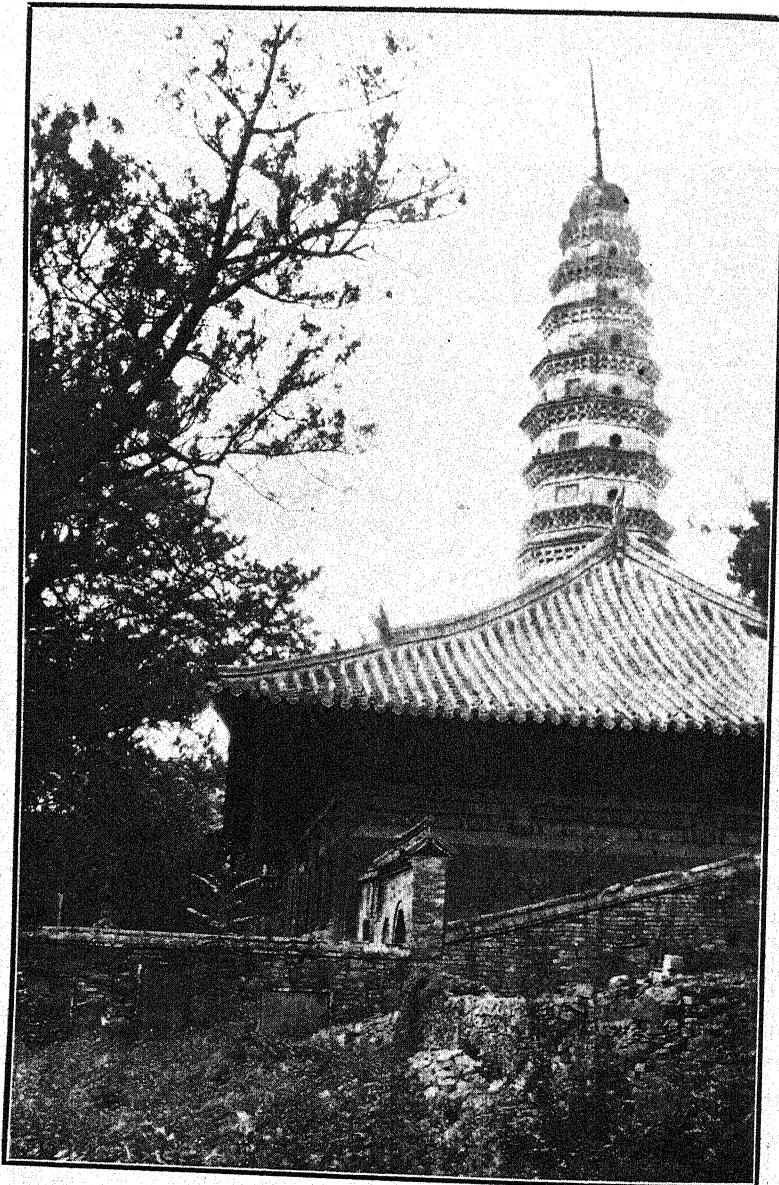
In the 蘇文忠公詩集, the Commentator Chi W'en-ta (紀文達) makes no comment on this poem except to refer to the unusual rhyme employed therein. On the other hand, he doubts the authenticity of another poem, "*The Stone Chime of the Cloud-Dragon Hall of Grass*" (題雲龍草堂石磬), and ascribes it to a later writer owing to the use therein of a phrase definitely unclassical. Referring to a third poem,¹ Chi W'en-ta comments: "Su Shih undoubtedly modelled the poem on the style of Han Yü (韓愈) of the T'ang dynasty. There appears, in fact, little doubt regarding the authenticity of the poem which forms the subject of this notice, and as Su Shih held official positions in this province about the year 1078, it is likely that he wrote the poem during this period, when he was 41 years of age. There is, however, considerable doubt whether the transcription found by Dr. Ecke is an original engraving.

Cloud-Dragon Hill is in Hsü-chou (徐州), Shantung Province; and, according to Ch'a Shén-hsing (查慎行), the famous commentator of Su's poems,

¹ "After watching a fire on Cloud-Dragon Hill I use the word 'Cloud' as my rhyme" (雲龍山觀燒得雲字).



POEM BY SU TUNG-P'O, INCISED IN STONE IN THE WALL
SURROUNDING THE (靈巖寺) SHANTUNG.



TEMPLE OF THE DIVINE CLIFF (靈巖寺), SHANTUNG.

Photograph by Dr. Gustav Ecke.

the stone bearing the transcription of this poem was extant as late as the K'ang Hsi (康熙) period of the Manchu dynasty. This transcription, however, bore the following postscript by Su:—

“On the 17th day of the 9th moon of the 1st year of 元豐 (1078), Chang T'ien-chi (張天驥), Su Shih (蘇軾), Yen Fu (顏復), and Wang Kung (王聰) first ascended this hill.”²

The absence of this postscript in the transcription found in the temple south-east of Tsinan shows conclusively that it is at best a reproduction, and not the original engraving.

The style of the poem and the sentiment expressed therein are not unlike that to be found in other of the more ordinary poems by Su Tung-p'o. In it we have a picture of the poet “in his cups” finding refuge from the world in “the rhythm of nature.” The following is a translation of the poem:

Climbing the Cloud-Dragon Hill (登雲龍山).

Flushed with wine I climb the Ridge of Spear Grass,³

Where rocks are scattered like a flock of sheep.

Drunkenly I fall upon its crest, a rock my bed,

And watch the clouds that fill the sky in dazzling whiteness.

The sound of singing echoes down the valley on the Autumn wind.

Lifting their heads, the travellers look toward the south-east,

And clap their hands with mirth at the sight of the tipsy magistrate.⁴

C. D. LE GROS CLARK.

Early Pottery Fragments from Hangchow Bay.—The purpose of this note is to call attention to a culture deposit near Hai-yen on the shores of Hangchow Bay, concerning which any sweeping conclusions would at present be premature. In 1934, on three hasty visits to the spot indicated on the map as Ch'in Shan Beach, I collected with the assistance of my wife and others about a thousand potsherds ranging apparently from a pre-Han date to as late as Sung, i.e. at a very minimum they would seem to cover a thousand years.

For convenience, though perhaps somewhat arbitrarily, the shards collected may be divided into four groups:

- (a) Earthenware or stoneware, grey, red and yellowish, glazed and unglazed, decorated with simple stamped patterns.
- (b) Hard stoneware, grey, with yellowish-olive glaze and incised patterns.
- (c) Porcelanous stoneware with improved bluish and greenish glaze of a “proto-celadon” type, plain or with delicate stamped patterns.
- (d) Porcelanous stoneware to porcelain, various types, some clearly Lung-ch'üan, others perhaps Yüeh-chou, etc., with colors ranging from blue-green through olive-green and straw to grey and greyish white—

² Su refers to this occasion in the poem quoted in note (1), wherein he states that he visited the hermit Chang (張) in the company of two or three chance acquaintances.

³ 黃茅 嶺 was the name of a place, but is here translated in its literal sense.

⁴ Dr. John C. Ferguson adds to the above notice: This poem is not found in the ordinary version of Su's work and the writing on the tablet is surely not that of the great poet. It resembles the reproduction of poems such as we have hundreds of in the Palace made during the Ch'ien Lung period. Mr. Le Gros Clark has made a speciality of the poems of Su Tung-p'o [See his *The Prose Poetry of Su Tung-p'o*, Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1935]. He is connected with the British Civil Service in Burma.—Editor.

as well as black Chien. (The pieces in this group are similar to midden shards which I found in quantities, also in 1934, at the old city of Kashin on the Grand Canal, some 25 miles inland).

Of the four groups attention is called here particularly to the first which contains certain close parallels to potsherds discovered by recent excavations in such widely separated places as Lamma Island, Hong Kong, and Hanchow, Ssüch'uan.¹ A few representative shards from this group are here illustrated.

Militarization of the area has prevented the acquisition of more examples from this site or from the beach at Chapoo where shards have also been reported. Kao-ch'iao Beach, however, at the mouth of the Yangtze and outside of the military zone, was found upon investigation by my wife in May 1935 to be littered with pottery fragments which on the whole were of different types. They ranged from very crude but not necessarily very early red and black soft earthenware to dated Ming blue-and-whites and included Lung-ch'üan, Chien and other Sung types.

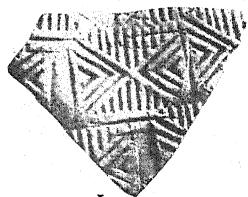
JAMES MARSHALL PLUMER.

The Preliminary Exhibition at Shanghai.—To view the assembled art treasures, erstwhile of the Manchu Emperors, has been hitherto the rarest privilege of those whose good fortune led them to Peking. There, housed in the magnificent setting of towering throne room and audience hall, the centuries' tribute from all quarters of their far-flung realm has been on display since Republican times. With the shifting of the political centre from the northern salient to the estuary of the Yangtze, the ancient capital has retained part of its glory for little more reason than its custodianship of the national cultural heritage. In the light of several notable historical forcible removals of art objects from the cities of the conquered for the embellishment of the capitals of the victors, events not unconnected with the political world dictated the recent hurried removal of the former imperial bronzes, paintings, porcelains, and all the later types of Chinoiserie to the south. China is not unused to these hasty southward treks, for the invading nomad of the northern wastes—whether ancient Hsiung Nu, Hsien Pi, Khitan, Kin, Mongol or Manchu,—has successively penetrated the frontier, harried the land and driving the defenders beyond the Ho (Yellow River) has either burned or carried off the rich treasures of the court. China dates her historical epochs by successive "bibliothecal catastrophes"—the periodical burnings of her great literary collections!

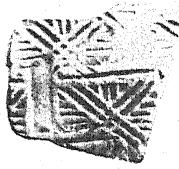
The present lack of a suitable display locale for the national art treasures at Shanghai doubtless facilitated the decision of the Executive Yuan to permit the temporary loan of a selection to the International Exhibition of Chinese Art to be held in London from November, 1935, till March, 1936. But in the meantime the determination of the Organizing Committee to hold a Preliminary Exhibition in Shanghai enabled throngs of visitors daily to view what once only privileged members of the Court might admire. Shanghai, unfortunately, while possessing a number of fine private collections, large and small, has no public display of merit. This is of course a distinct reflection upon the wealthiest city of China when it is recalled that the fine-arts museums of America and Europe contain some of the choicest examples of Chinese art.

The present selection has been made by a special Sub-Committee of Experts after an exchange of opinions with members of the English Selection Committee.

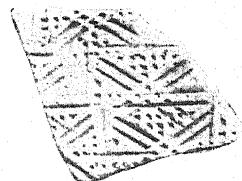
¹ As published in *The Hong Kong Naturalist* during 1932-1934, and the *Journal of the West China Border Society*, vol. VI, 1933-34.



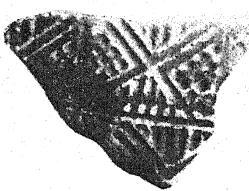
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CSB. r3



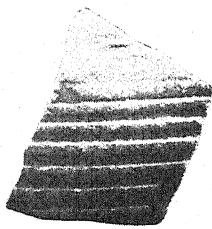
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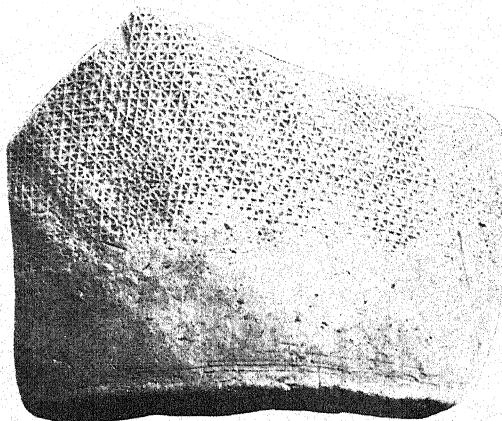
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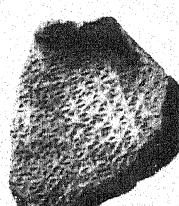
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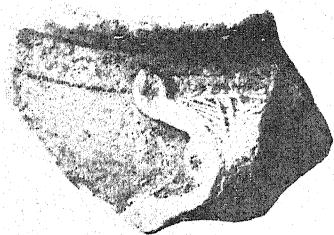
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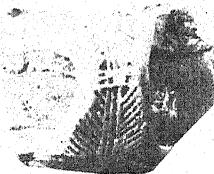
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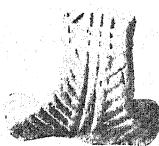


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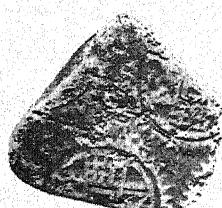
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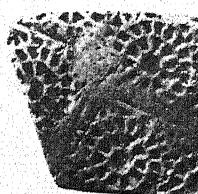
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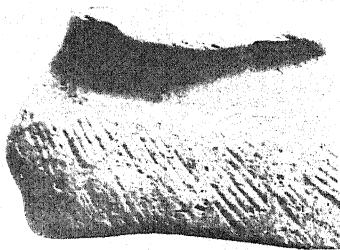
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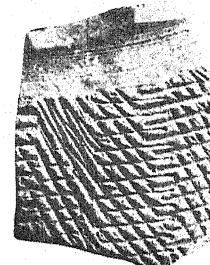
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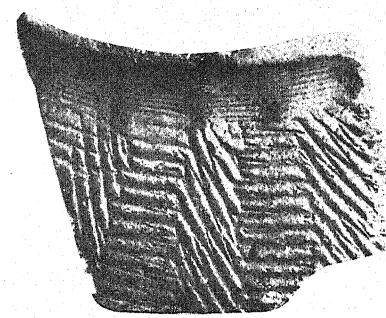
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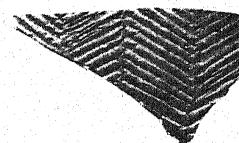
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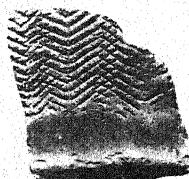
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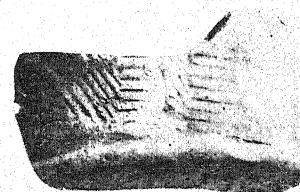
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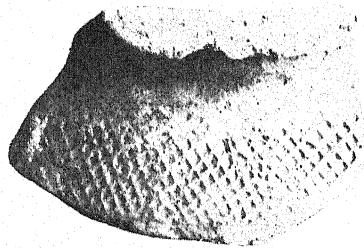
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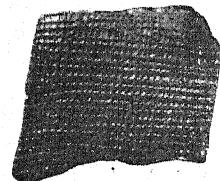
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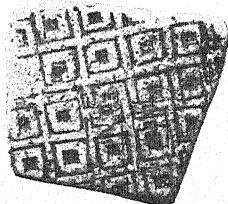
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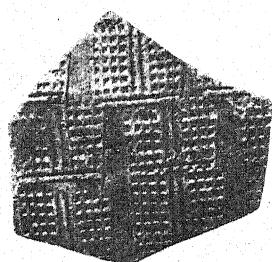
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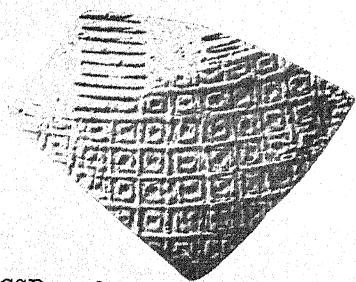
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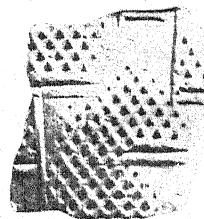
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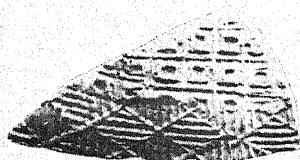
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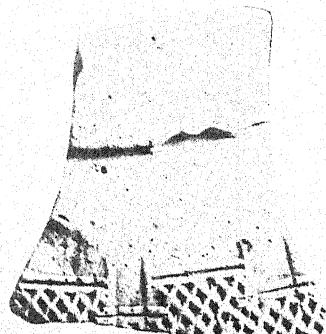
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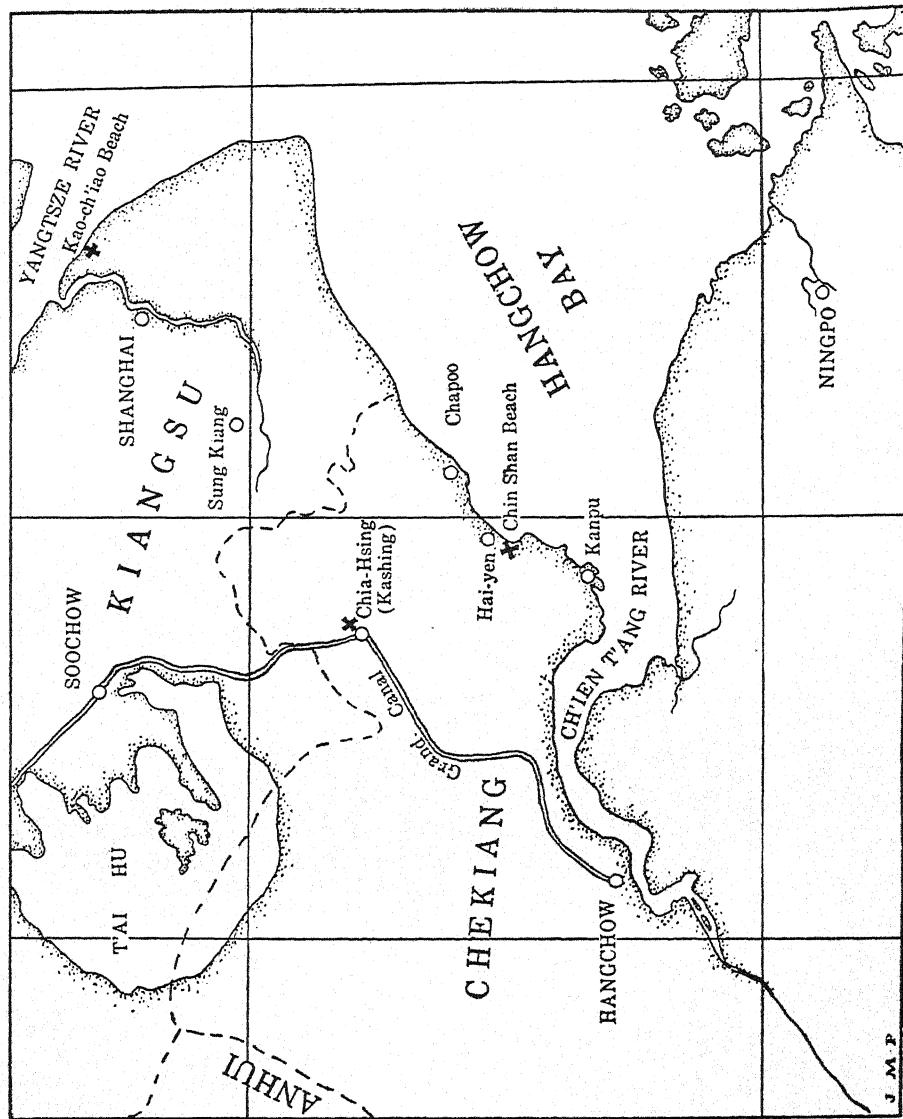
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The personnel of the latter is a warrant of the highest taste and connoisseurship. Mr. R. L. Hobson of the British Museum is widely known for his volumes on the porcelains of China. Professor Paul Pelliot of the Collège de France is the brilliant and versatile representative of the impressive succession of French sinologues; his scholarly researches in Chinese archaeology point to him as the authority of the Selection Committee on bronzes and in general on ancient Chinese inscriptions and epigraphy. Mr. G. Eumorfopoulos combines native taste with vast experience in the amassing of the notable collection which bears his name, and which will now find a permanent place in the British Museum. Sir Percival David and Mr. O. Raphael, collectors of distinction, complete the names of the English Selection Committee. It is to be regretted that to this galaxy of supreme authorities there was not added Dr. John C. Ferguson who combines not only profound erudition in the literary records of Chinese pictorial art but an exceptional personal acquaintance with the contents of the former Imperial collection of paintings (as well as its bronzes, etc.) extending over many years' service as a collaborator with the Palace Museum Advisory Committee.

It would be a task of transcendent proportions to evaluate in any detail the hundreds of inscribed bones and tortoise shells, bronzes, paintings, "K'o Ssü" tapestry and embroideries, porcelains, calligraphic scrolls, fans, jades, carvings in red lacquer, enamels, cloissonné, "incunabula" of early printed books, etc. They not only are culled from the great Palace Museum collection but from the National Museum, the Academia Sinica, the Honan Museum and the Anhwei Provincial Library. Every epoch of Chinese art is represented: the An-yang finds of ritualistic inscriptions on clavicle and carapace; the impressive bronze sacrificial vessels of the "Spring and Autumn" and "Warring States" periods whose age is displayed in brilliant-hued patina; paintings of the T'ang (618-906 A.D.), Five Dynasties (907-959 A.D.), through Sung (960-1275 A.D.), Yuan (1276-1367 A.D.), Ming and Ch'ing.

To speak only of the paintings, names of the greatest artists are here seen, Kuo Hsi (14; 15), Mi Fei (17), the Emperor Hui Tsung (18, 19), Ma Yuen (34, 35), Hsia Kuei (36, 37), Chao Meng-fu (63, 64), Lu Chi (113, 114), the inimitable Ch'ou Ying in a magnificent landscape "Waiting to cross a River in Autumn" (120, 122, 123), Lu Chih (124, 125), and finally the florid and imitative schools of the Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasty. There are to be sure notable absences in the list, Li Lung-mien, for example, "whose soul communed with all things." Two paintings unique for their inspiration (172, 173) have generally escaped attention as the work of the Jesuit Castiglione under his Chinese sobriquet of Lang She-ning (Lang Shih-ning). The porcelains, the artists anonymous for the most part, unlike the paintings, feature the collection and have received in the catalogue a valuable descriptive note by Mr. Kuo Pao-ch'ang, technical expert to the Committee.

All this represents, as no other medium could, the stupendous cultural and artistic achievements of the Chinese people from the mysterious Shang-Yin dynasty of the 18th century B.C. to the decadence of the late Ch'ing, producing some of the most beautiful objects ever created by the hand of man. Whether or not the collection represents the "best" in the Palace Museum; whether or not there are conspicuous absences among the artists, or important types of wares missing among the porcelains; whether or not other collections are richer or more numerous in certain respects, certainly this collection is entirely adequate to attain the expressed aim of the Organizing Committee, "to make the West appreciate the beauty of Chinese art."

Exchanges with the Tōyō Bunko.—The material in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, N.C.B., available for the use of students of special aspects of China's culture, has been augmented by exchanges recently established between this Society and the Tōyō Bunko (The Oriental Library) of Tokyo. Five volumes from this important Japanese research institute have been added to the local library. They are respectively No. 2 (1928), No. 3 (1928), No. 4 (1929), No. 5 (1930) and No. 6 (1932) of the *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko* and contain highly interesting monographs in English and French by distinguished Japanese scholars. Among these papers are for example studies on "The Queue among the Peoples of North Asia" by the Director of the Institute, Dr. K. Shiratori, "The Chinese Expeditions to Manchuria under the Wei Dynasty" by Ikeuchi, "The Philippine Islands as known to the Chinese before the Ming Dynasty" by Wada, "Les Dolmens de Chan-toung" by Torii, etc. A study of special contemporary interest in view of the present outflow of coinage from China is by Jitsuzō Kuwabara, "On P'u Shou Kēng, a Man of the Western Regions, who was the Superintendant of the Trading Ships' Office in Ch'üan-chou 泉州 towards the end of the Sung dynasty, together with a general sketch of the trade of the Arabs in China during the T'ang and Sung Eras." The outflow of coins from China in the T'ang era and thereafter is disclosed as furnishing surrounding nations with their coinages, resulting in a *Ch'ien-huang* 錢荒 (lit. Cash-famine) in China with the severest prohibitive laws against the export of money. "But in spite of all these efforts, the prohibitive measures were simply dead letters." Dr. Shiratori also provides "A study on Su-t'e (粟特), or Sogdiana." Further valuable researches into the Mongol invasion of Japan with reproductions of Japanese documents and paintings have been supplied to the R.A.S. Library by The Tōyō Bunko in two handsome volumes "Genkō no Shinkenkyū"—New Research into the Mongol Invasion of Japan in 1274 and 1281, by H. Ikeuchi. The Catalogue of Baron Iwasaki's Library presented to the Tōyō Bunko some years ago has also been received.

E. M. G.

A Tibetan-English Dictionary.—H. A. Jäschke: The well-known London Oriental publishing house, Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., has issued a reprint of this work, standard for so many years. First published in 1881 from a lithographed Tibetan-German Dictionary appearing from between 1871 and 1876, the present new edition will again make generally available this pioneering hand-book of the Tibetan written and spoken language. The original preface narrates the history of attempts to reduce Tibetan to a written medium, performed when Thonmi Sambhota, the Minister of King Srongtsangampo, was sent to India in the first half of the seventh century, and as a result invented the Tibetan alphabet based on Sanskrit. The first European Tibetan dictionary and grammar appeared in 1826, by an unnamed Catholic Missionary. This work passed into the hands of a Mr. Shröter, a missionary in Bengal who substituted English for the original Italian of the manuscript. The East India Company made a grant for the cost of printing. A second work, the Tibetan-English Dictionary by Csoma de Körös appeared in 1834. This Dictionary by Csoma was adapted for a German public by Professor I. J. Schmidt of St. Petersburg. Jäschke, a Moravian missionary who resided from 1857 for a number of years on the borders of Tibet and among Tibetan tribes, pursues the object and accepts the plan of the work published by Schröter.

For a scientific and thorough study of the Tibetan dialects, Jäschke's *Phonetic Table*, being part III of the Introduction is particularly valuable as it was compiled on the basis of carefully ascertained data. The explanations of

the consonants as well as the vowel sounds indicated by "hooks" placed over or under the consonant signs, excepting *a* which is considered as inherent in every consonant, are lucid in a somewhat involved field. The essay on the *Pronunciation* of the Tibetan language presents doubtless, as the compiler states, as much in the way of results as, down to the time of compilation (1881) it had been possible for European students to acquire and to put into shape for the service of a European public. It is doubtful if much of material value has since been added, for Jäschke's work must be considered as ranking first in Tibetan lexicography.

The passing of Rockhill (1914) and Laufer (1934) removed two of the later scholars who made important contributions to Tibetan studies; the forbidding and forbidden land however is continuing to attract the increasing interest of, and to develop closer relationships with the outside world, and the study of its language, made up of a great number of independent and well-defined dialects, cannot fail to grow. A number of recent books mostly of a popular and non-scientific character have appeared on Tibet, while the relatively unascertained wealth of the land in the natural sciences is inducing explorers to venture beyond the Ssü-ch'uen marches into the Tibetan realm. The interest of this Society has been especially stimulated recently through the visit here of Sir Charles Bell whose career as a former member of the Indian Civil Service eventually brought him into contact with Tibet and Sikkim. In 1913 Sir Charles took part in the conference between China, Tibet and Great Britain; and in 1920 he conducted a political mission to Lhasa where he spent eleven months establishing personal relations with the late Dalai Lama. Besides the compilation of an English-Tibetan Dictionary, Sir Charles Bell's "Tibet: Past and Present" is a standard work and has been followed by "The People of Tibet" and "The Religion of Tibet."

E. M. G.

Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Bulletins Nos. 5 (1933) and 6 (1934).—These two volumes lately received by the Library deserve special mention as they contain notable monographs on a variety of subjects. The eminent Swedish philologist B. Karlgren, provides a lengthy discussion of a highly scientific nature on "Word Families in Chinese." A paper by Mr. Arthur Waley deals with "The Book of Changes." Archaeology is represented in papers by Professor J. G. Andersson on "Selected Ordos Bronzes (with 16 Plates)" and by J. G. Arne on "Die Funde von Luan P'ing und Hsuan Hua (mit 14 Tafeln)." Bulletin No. 6 is devoted especially to early Chinese bronzes with many excellent reproductions. Professor Karlgren provides a paper of special interest to collectors of bronze mirrors on the inscriptions found on early Chinese mirrors.

Das Chinesische Theater vor der T'ang-zeit und Sung Yu's Chiu-pien.—These two translations by Professor Eduard Erkes have been sent the editor as reprints from *Asia Major*, Vol. X, Fasc. 2, and *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XXXI-Livr. 3-5 respectively. The former is the original work of the late Wang Kuo-wei, to whom much is owed for his researches into the early Chinese drama, and towards which the present paper is a valuable historical contribution.

Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-Hist. Klasse.—Professor O. Franke continues his valuable monographs in these publications with a study of foreign place names as used by the Chinese in "Grundsätzliches zur Wiedergabe

fremder Länder- und Ortsnamen im Chinesischen" (1934, XV). In view of the present revival of interest in the celebrated socialist-statesman of the Sung era, Wang An-shih, Professor Franke's two earlier monographs "Staatssozialistische Versuche im Alten und mittelalterlichen China (1931, XIII)" and "Der Bericht Wang Ngan-schis von 1085 über Reform des Beamtentums, ein Beitrag zur Beurteilung des Reformators (1932, XIII)" may be here again recalled.

Agassiz Professor Appointed at University of California.—Dr. Ferdinand Lessing, professor of Chinese in the Seminar Für Orientalische Sprachen, and curator of the Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, Germany, has been named Agassiz professor of Oriental languages at the University of California. The appointment fills the chair formerly held by Dr. John Fryer, Dr. A. Forke and Dr. E. T. Williams, while Dr. Esson M. Gale was Chairman and Lecturer from 1928 to 1932.

Dr. Lessing studied Oriental languages in the University of Berlin, and was in China from 1907 to 1925 as professor of German in Tientsin, Tsingtao, Peking State University, and the Mukden Japanese University. From 1930 to 1933 he was with the Sven Hedin expedition in China and Mongolia and made special researches into Chinese theatricals, Chinese and Mongolian folklore and the Buddhist religion. At the same time he conducted extensive journeys in North China and South China, Mongolia, Manchuria and Indo-China.

He has written several books on Oriental subjects, the best known of which is "Lehrgang der Nordchinesischen Umgangssprache," in collaboration with the late Professor W. Othmer. Other monographs are: "What the Desert Betrays"; "Wohnung, Nahrung, Kleidung der Chinesen"; "New Documents and Researches into the Ancient History of China"; "Die Religion der Mongolen"; "The Yung-ho-kung"; and in preparation now, "The Lamaist Cathedral of Peking, its History, Architecture, Iconography, and Rites." In addition he is author of a number of smaller essays and treatises on Chinese and Mongolian subjects.

A List of Periodical Articles on Chinese Subjects.—Published by the American Committee on the Promotion of Chinese Studies, this has reached the sixth issue. The list makes no pretense at being more than cursory notices of important articles appearing in various publications throughout the world. It is compiled from cards returned by scholars who volunteer information on articles coming to their attention in English, French, German, Russian and other publications. The materials receive no editorial revision, but the publishers believe that they contain no errors which will be misleading to those who use the lists.

The Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography.—This is a much more formal presentation of current works on China. Published by the Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, and edited and printed by the National Library of Peiping, Vol. 1, No. 2 (June 1934) covers publications issued during the first five months of the year 1934, with some from 1933. The work is published in English and Chinese in a combined volume. The table of contents indicates the wide value of the publication to students. Dr. Hu Shih contributes a descriptive note on Mr. Chu Chi-feng's 朱起鳳 lexicography of variations in the written form of classical terms and phrases which he denominates *Tz'u T'ung* 辭通 (2v. Shanghai: Kaiming Book Co., 1934, \$9.00). Dr. Hu terms the publication of this dictionary, the achievement of thirty years hard work, "a great event in the book world of China this year."

Source Material for the History of Shanghai.—The Library has received a list of pamphlets relative to the history and growth of Shanghai compiled by Mr. I. S. Coushnir. These pamphlets which may be examined at the Bookstall and Curiosity Shop at 282-286 Yü Yuen Road, Shanghai, form a valuable source for students of the development of the municipality of Shanghai.

American Council of Learned Societies, Summary of Activities in 1934.—"The Committees on Chinese and Japanese Studies suffered a severe blow in the death, on September 12, of Berthold Laufer, America's most eminent sinologue and one of the most productive scholars in any field. He had coöperated fully in the work of the committees and devoted much time and thought to their activities. Jerome D. Greene has been added to the Committee on Japanese Studies. The committees report continued progress along the four directions outlined in last year's report, *viz.*, (1) increase in trained personnel, (2) implementation of the field, (3) exchanges with Oriental and Russian scholarship and (4) research and publication. The Council awarded 4 post-doctoral fellowships and 2 grants-in-aid of research to scholars in the Far Eastern field, and made 2 supplementary awards to holders of fellowships from Columbia University and Harvard-Yenching Institute, enabling them to continue the study of the Japanese and Chinese languages, respectively. The Training Center at the Library of Congress commenced active operation on September 1. Two of the fellows mentioned above, one Japanese and two Chinese scholars, and an American secretary have been engaged, under the direction of Dr. Arthur W. Hummel, in the preparation of "Contributions to a Biographical Dictionary of the Ch'ing Dynasty." Lives of more than 70 of the 500 personages selected as most eminent in China in the seventeenth century have been already completed. At the same time, Dr. Homer H. Dubs commenced the translation of a selected section of the Dynastic Histories of China, an experimental project for which funds have been made available. Present work on the enterprise is confined to the early chapters of the *Ch'ien Han Shu*. Since October 1, Dr. Dubs has been assisted by Mr. Tai Jen, and much progress has been made in assembling and studying the Chinese and Japanese commentaries, in evaluating the overlapping work of Chavannes in his translation of the *Shih Chi*, and in the actual work of translation. A second Summer Seminar in Far Eastern Studies was held successfully at the University of California from June 25 to August 3. Thirty-two persons, exclusive of the 5 instructors, attended. They represented 28 institutions of learning on the West Coast, and there seems every reason to believe that the seminar has played an important part in raising the standard of instruction in Far Eastern studies offered at these institutions. A third seminar is assured at Columbia University in 1935. The question of providing scholarly translations of Far Eastern source materials is vital, but their mass precludes the possibility of any immediate and systematic solution. The committees, consequently, endeavor as opportunity offers to secure the publication of valuable translations. Two manuscripts are now in their hands, together with some small funds for publication. Meanwhile, it has been thought worth while to list all published translations. The first section of such a list, "Published Translations of Japanese Drama," has been compiled for the committees by Dr. Shio Sakanishi and associates and will be published, in tentative form for criticism, at an early date. A sixth mimeographed current bibliography of articles on China was distributed during the year, and the seventh is in process. Several Japanese learned journals are being currently abstracted for the committees, and the abstracts will soon be published in English. Bibliographies of Japanese works on Chinese art and on Sino-

Japanese relations have been compiled, and are being translated and annotated by Mr. Hideo Kishimoto. These enterprises are chiefly experiments in method, but are producing valuable bibliographical results for which there proves to be much demand. The problem of Far Eastern current bibliography is also being studied by the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, which finds the experience of the ACLS committees and the collaboration of their secretary of much value. The presence in the United States of the director of the National Library in Peiping, and of representatives of the Tokyo Society for International Intellectual Relations, provided the opportunity for the discussion of the means of cultural exchanges and for the consideration of mutual activities. The Sixth Conference on Far Eastern Studies was held in Philadelphia in April. The first number of the series *Studies in Chinese and Related Civilizations*, L. C. Goodrich's "The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien-Lung," is just coming from the press,* while the second volume, Benjamin March's "Some Technical Terms of Chinese Painting," is now in the printer's hands. The committee has received several manuscripts describing resources for Far Eastern studies here and abroad which it hopes to publish as pamphlets at an early date."

SUMMARIES OF LECTURES DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY 1934-1935.

These summaries do not include lectures published elsewhere in the *Journal* in full. The Editor acknowledges his indebtedness, when not otherwise stated, largely to the Shanghai press, especially the *North-China Daily News & Herald* and the *China Press*, for the following excellent reports of lectures delivered before the Society.

Histories and Historians of China's Three Milleniums.—The impressiveness of the work of Chinese historians throughout thirty centuries was demonstrated by Dr. Esson M. Gale in a lecture before the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Wu Lien Teh Hall on November 15, 1934. Mr. A. D. Blackburn, President of the Society, was in the chair.

The speaker disclaimed any intention to bring forth new light in an old field * but in accordance with the Confucian maxim "A man keeps cherishing his old knowledge, so as continually to be acquiring new" *wen ku erh chih hsin*, it would be of value, he observed, to review again during the hour the stupendous achievements of Chinese historical writing. A feature of the lecture were the special editions of the principal Chinese historical works placed on exhibit and illustrating in visible form the remarks of the lecturer. These handsome editions were provided through courtesy of the Commercial Press, Ltd. An historical chart showing the development of Chinese culture was shown on the screen to illustrate chronological changes. Dr. Gale said in part:

It may be confidently stated that the Chinese are among the most historically minded of all peoples of the earth. Other peoples recall at a few recurring anniversaries outstanding incidents of their country's history. But the Chinese—however unread he may be—has been continuously trained at least by the theatre or the story teller in the stirring episodes of historical tradition, its heroes and their doughty deeds. The drama, the novel, the raconteur of tea house, temple court, and market place, provide a popular but universal form of historical instruction. Yet this all seeps down from an upper stratum of genuine historical scholarship* which has distinguished Chinese letters from earliest recorded times. The abundance of historical material and compilation is unparalleled by any other nation. This is explained by the fact that the earliest Chinese literature was largely made up of records or annals.

To be sure classical historiographers represented by Herodotus, Thucidides, Plutarch and Xenophon, Livy, Polybius, the Plinys, Tacitus, Dio Cassius and others offer every comparison with the recorders of ancient China. In style, critical acumen, and liveliness of narrative, they doubtless quite equal and

perhaps in some respects excel their colleagues of the great contemporary political entity of Eastern Asia, China of Antiquity. Later, Islam produced its great historians such as Ibn Ishaq (d. 767), Tabari (d. 923) and Abulfeda (d. 1331). With the extinction of the Hellenistic and Roman hegemonies in the Mediterranean basin, classical historiography ceased, and men of letters for centuries occupied themselves largely with the patristic literature and the revival of classical studies. Similarly the Arabic chroniclers did not begin their labours until centuries after the beginning of the Christian era. In the meantime, parallelling equally the classical historians and marching alongside the Arab chroniclers Chinese historiography continued its unbroken progress.

The orthodox collection of Twenty Four Dynastic Histories began with the great exemplar of Chinese historiography, *Shih Chi*, Historical Memoirs of Ssū-ma Ch'ien (2nd century B.C.) and ended with the Ming, 1644. But the annals of the Ch'ing dynasty were carefully collated during the reigns of the Emperors. In the early years of the Republic, a Historiographical Commission laboured on these records, ultimately producing the *Ch'ing Shih Kao* or Draft History of the Ch'ing Dynasty. Only a comparatively few sets of this compilation have fallen into the hands of the public. Western historians have very largely completed their examination of the material in the archives of the foreign offices of Occidental governments; they must turn now to these available Chinese sources. I must not omit mention of a large collection of government documents *I Wu Shih Mo*, Beginning and End of Barbarian Affairs, which throws much new light on China's relations with Foreign Powers in the early XIXth century. Our histories of China of the past two centuries now require some very fundamental rewriting!

Of all the historical works, exclusive of the dynastic histories, that of the distinguished and versatile Sung statesman Ssū-ma Kuang, claiming descent from Ssū-ma Ch'ien, is undoubtedly the greatest. This is the *Tzū Chih T'ung Chien*, "General Mirror for Help in Government," a work comprising 294 books, which it took the author nineteen years to complete. It commences with the fourth century B.C. and carries China's history down through the Five Dynasties, which just preceded the Sung era. Ssū-ma Kuang continued to work over this material, publishing additional works until the end of his active life (A.D. 1086). The great Sung historian thus completed the history of China from the semi-fabulous period of Fu Hsi and ending with the year A.D. 1067.

So great was the interest aroused by Ssū-ma Kuang's monumental work, that others continued to write exegetical works and extensions on it. A century after the historian's death, the Neo-Confucian philosopher Chu Hsi superintended the reconstruction and condensation of the *T'ung Chien* into the even more celebrated *T'ung Chien Kang Mu*. Professor O. Franke, the learned German sinologist, assigns to Ssū-ma Kuang the intention to justify conservatism and orthodoxy in Chinese thought by his interpretation of his country's long history. This theory finds confirmation in the fact that Ssū-ma Kuang was a leader in the *Yuan Yu* party which bitterly opposed the Sung Innovator Wang An-shih.

The latter's programme of state socialism was particularly objectionable to Ssū-ma Kuang, who accordingly devoted himself to discrediting Wang An-shih's policies on historical grounds. Wang An-shih, in his system of state socialism actually introduced under the favour of the Sung Emperor, was as bitterly opposed as his nineteenth century successor Carl Marx has been; and it was the historian Ssū-ma Kuang who led the attack. A hundred years later the victory of the conservatives was confirmed and perpetuated when Chu Hsi, turning for the moment from his epochal commentaries on the Classics, made Ssū-ma Kuang's "Mirror of History" more accessible and intelligible. Six hundred years later, the Jesuit sinologue de Mailla translated this work from a Manchu version into

French; and for the first time disclosed to Europe the impressive panorama of China's political development throughout the centuries. Once again, a little over a decade ago, Henri Cordier published his *Historie Générale de la Chine* which for early dynasties and reigns largely borrows from Chu Hsi's recension of Ssû-ma Kuang's "General Mirror for Help in Government." It is now the effort of China's historians, to get away from the subjective interpretations of Ssû-ma Kuang and Chu Hsi, and to work independently upon the texts relating to special periods. It is hoped that Western historians of China will abandon the custom of dealing with the entire three milleniums of China's ascertained history. Rather let them make investigations confined to limited epochs or periods as has been done in historical studies of Oriental lands.

The authenticated history of China does not reach very far back and the value of texts relating to antiquity is not very great. Actually we have merely sketches of certain epochs, separated by periods scarcely known, rather than a continuous historical account of Ancient China.

The evidences of China's national life at the beginning of the first millenium B.C. consist of a few archæological discoveries, the inscribed carapaces of tortoises* and the clavicles of deer used in divination, some bronze sacrificial vessels with inscriptions, perhaps the stone drums at Peking and the later Odes and certain fragments of the *Classic of History*. Nevertheless, the Chinese historiographers have reconstructed ancient China. They have a period which is supplied by mythology. Such periods certainly represent nothing but Chinese folklore, important in thought, literature and art, but creations of later times, and examples of euphemerism or deliberate archaism. Modern scholarship (and for that matter Chinese scholars for some centuries) is sceptical of the historicity of these accounts. Unfortunately, unlike for ancient Egypt and the East Mediterranean nations, monuments of antiquity have not been preserved in any abundance; and excavations, save for a few scattered expeditions in Honan and Shensi, may be said to have scarcely begun.

As is to be expected, the school of modern Chinese historians who have been trained in the Occidental technique of historical criticism and writing, have adopted the scientific methods of their Western masters. With their training in archæology, sociology, phonetics, and the other aids to historical investigation, they enjoy as well a greater facility in the original documentation of Chinese history, which cannot be claimed—even by the best-trained Western sinologists.

Were Chinese historical documents limited to a few bronze inscriptions of cuneiform incised bricks, an occasional papyrus, or a parchment, the task, while difficult enough, would be circumscribed. It is, however, the very abundance and variety of Chinese documentation which present a problem to the Occidental scholar. The assyriologist with his cuneiform inscriptions, the classical epigraphist or the Egyptian papyrologue, likewise is not likely to be confronted with a living representative of the ancient civilizations whom he seeks to restore! But this is the fate of the Western sinologue who is surrounded by the direct descendants of the houses of Chou, Han, T'ang and Sung. And whatever recognizable phonological change may have taken place since prior to the sixth century A.D., the time of the earliest pronouncing dictionaries, the Chinese ideograph remains substantially the same.

The problems of Chinese historiography are being faced in scientific form and approach in the principal countries of the world. An understanding of China by the West is happily synchronising with China's own cultural transformation in directions postulated by her Occidental contacts.

* See also on the subject of Chinese historical writings Dr. John C. Ferguson's earlier paper "A General Survey of Standard Histories" in *Journal of N.C.B., R.A.S.*, vol. LVII—1926. Editor.

Exploration on the Tibetan Border.—An entertaining illustrated lecture on exploration on the western border of China was given by Mr. Jack Theodore Young at the Royal Asiatic Society's Hall on November 23, 1934. Mr. A. D. Blackburn said that Mr. Young was no stranger to Tibet, for he was with the 1929 Roosevelt Expedition which went in search of the Giant Panda, and in 1931-32 he acted as guide to a party of Americans who ascended one of the highest peaks on the Sikang-Yunnan border, 25,000 ft. in height.

Mr. Young said that the main object of his expedition was social and botanical research. Their achievements were satisfactory. They had brought back a species of bear, which was now in the hands of Mr. A. de C. Sowerby. They thought it to be a type of grizzly or brown bear, quite distinct from the brown bear of America. They had managed to bring back alive two white-ear pheasants, which though very hard to get alive, were even harder to keep alive. His brother, after devoting eight hours every day for two months, managed to catch 23 of these rare birds. When the party reached Shanghai only four were alive and of these two had since died. The remaining two were leaving for America. They also obtained a snow white leopard and two specimens of tarkin.

Mr. Young, referring to a recent article published in the "North-China Daily News" regarding the vast store of gold supposed to be lying in Western China, said there was no question of there being gold, but not in the vast quantities people might be led to believe. Thousands of natives in Yunnan and Sikang were occupied in panning gold and they were only making a bare living. He also spoke on the claim made by some that Tibet is a vast oilfield, of which the oilfields of Persia are a small outlet. Whether there was any truth in the statement he could not say, but he considered the matter of sufficient importance to warrant skilled men making a thorough investigation.

The Chiang Tribes of Western Szechwan was the subject of a lecture delivered on December 6, 1934 to members and guests of the Royal Asiatic Society by the Reverend Thomas Torrance. The meeting was held in Wu Lien Teh Hall, the chair being taken by Mr. A. D. Blackburn.

Mr. Torrance stated that his lecture was a continuation of a lecture delivered to the Society in 1923. He pointed out that there are many aboriginal tribes in West China. The main points of his paper were to show: (1) that the origin of most of the aboriginal tribes in West Szechwan was in Asia Minor; (2) that the religion of the Chiang tribes resembles closely the religion of the ancient Hebrews.

Mr. Torrance is a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and has spent 15 years of research in Szechwan, during which time he was a frequent contributor to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* and numerous other publications.

"The Romance of the Calendar." Lecture by Dr. H. Chatley on December 20, 1934. The speaker stated that any calendar was a marvellous complex of religious, political, scientific and superstitious ideas which formed a compact picture of human history and was a means of tracing the spread of culture through time and space.

Dealing first with the Western or Egypto-Roman calendar he showed how a primitive hunter's, or nomad's, reckoning of 12 moons of 30 days, discovered and recorded by tribal wizards and chiefs, developed with the coming of agriculture into a religious canon. Late in the fifth millennium B.C., under the control of those who were later deified as the Osiridian Gods, the Egyptian calendar of 365 days was invented, the 5 added days being taboo and sacred to those gods.

The beginning of the year then occurred when the star of Isis, Sirius the Dogstar, rose first before the Sun, and the Nile began to rise (about the end of June). The year consisted of three seasons of four months, each of thirty days (divided into three tens), with the five days over. Later each month and each day was consecrated to a god. This lasted four thousand years, but it was early noticed that the calendar shifted round the seasons once in 1460 years (The Sothic cycle) and in 46 B.C. Julius Caesar adopted the advice of a Graeco-Egyptian astronomer (Sosigenes) and introduced the present calendar with a "leap day" every four years. He also arranged the 12 Roman months almost as they still remain. Augustus Caesar changed the names of the Fifth and Sixth months (the first month was March) to July and August and shifted a day from February to August so that his month should have a lucky odd number of days. Constantine (4th century) added the week to the calendar. Gregory XIII (15th century) corrected an accumulated error of 0.0075 day per annum back to the 4th century by dropping 10 days and provided for future accuracy by omitting 3 "leap days" in 400 years and this system is now universal. Its error is only 0.0003 days per annum (1 day in about 3000 years). The Chinese have two calendars, one purely solar and one luni-solar, which are often confused. They both date back to at least 1000 B.C., but were rectified in the Han dynasty (200 B.C.), and again in the Manchu dynasty (1700 A.D.) under the advice of Jesuit astronomers. The solar or climatic calendar follows the sun and is divided into 12 or 24 parts corresponding to equal motions of the sun and begins at the winter solstice (Dec. 22nd). *It has nothing at all to do with the moon.* The old standard lunar calendar reckons by "moons" (new moon to new moon) of which there are 12 to the year, adjusted 7 times in 19 years by the addition of an "intercalary" moon, making 13 moons in those years. The first new moon of the year is that which is *nearest* to the "Beginning of Spring" (Feb. 4th, a date in the *solar* calendar half way between the winter solstice and spring equinox). The Intercalary moon is placed so as not to include a solstice or an equinox. The issuing of a calendar and the fixing of the beginning of the year was an Imperial privilege related to the Emperor's rôle as the Son of Heaven and interpreter of Heaven's Decree.

The Jewish, Greek and the old Roman calendars were similar to the Chinese but were less carefully regulated. Babylonian calendars used 360 days (12 months of 30 days) and inserted extra months of 30 days when necessary. Hence the division of a circle into 360 degrees.

The Persians had a somewhat similar arrangement of intercalation, but also had the 5 taboo days of the Egyptian year. A comparison of the old calendars from various sources enables the spread of science from the eastern Mediterranean over the whole world to be traced. One of the most interesting systems is the Maya-Aztec one, dating from about the 4th century A.D., which uses in its earlier form an arrangement of 18 periods of 20 days plus 5 unlucky days, plus a parallel system of 13 periods of 20 days, together with a second parallel system of counting by $20 \times 20 \times 20 \times 18 \times 20$ days which gives a day-count back to an imaginary era about 3000 B.C. This is the most mathematical system of recording dates which has ever come into state use.

Climatic Records and the Supposed Deterioration of North-West China. Contradicting the theory that Central Asia is becoming drier and drier and that with the continued shifting of loess from the Gobi and Ordos deserts, China will eventually resemble Mongolia, Dr. V. K. Ting, noted Chinese geologist and associate in the Academia Sinica, declared in an address before members of the Royal Asiatic Society on January 16th, 1935 that as far as his

scientific researches had carried him, there was no reason to believe the commonly accepted theory of the dessication of China's northwest.

It was his opinion that Central Asia was no drier to-day than it was 2,000 years ago. He backed up his own theory on geological calculations of Sinkiang by citing the discoveries of Sir Aurel Stein who, in his excavations around the Lob Nor country, had found old wooden documents buried only a few feet under the ground which recorded events of 2,000 years ago, tending to show that little if any change has been experienced in Central Asia since that time. The documents unearthed by Sir Aurel were in a state of almost perfect preservation.

Other scientists have advanced the theory, Dr. Ting said, that the fact that rivers were drying up in Central Asia is proof of the gradual dessication of that region. The speaker pointed out that the rivers were not dependent on rainfall so much as they were on the glaciers of the various mountain ranges in western China and northern Tibet. The present glaciers are remnants of a much older period, probably the Pleistocene or glacial period of the earth's formation. The rivers, then, had nothing to do with the mean annual rainfall. Nor had all the rivers shown signs of decreasing in volume, Dr. Ting stated. Sir Aurel Stein had also found this to be true.

Turning to the belief that the Gobi desert at the present time is encroaching further and further into China, it was the speaker's opinion that this could not be taken as a norm for ultimate predictions. It has been shown, he said, from data gathered by observing the annual rings of old trees in Peiping, that there have been five wet periods and five dry periods in the past 300 to 350 years. These observations had been backed up by definite statistics collected by the Peiping geological authorities in the past 45 years. The tree rings had corresponded so closely to the curve taken from actual weather observations, that there was no reason to doubt the authenticity of the tree ring theory which had recorded the wet and dry periods in the past 300 years or more.

Comparing Suiyuan and Shansi, Dr. Ting stated that while Suiyuan has had almost half as much mean annual rainfall as the neighboring province, more droughts had occurred in Shansi than in the former. This was due to the fact that the rainfall had come in Suiyuan in the most vital time of the growing period, while in Shansi, the tendency had been for the rain to be falling when the crops had either been harvested or had not been planted. In other words, Dr. Ting said, it proved quite conclusively that there has not been any dessication in China's northwest so much as there has been oscillation.

Excavating a Buried City of Palestine.—Archæology was utilized as the medium through which Biblical history was drawn into sharp relief by Dr. W. F. Bade, whose address on his excavation of Mizpah, 7½ miles from Jerusalem, drew a large audience on January 25th to the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. He delighted his listeners with a lecture brightened with humour and anecdote and copiously illustrated by exceptionally fine slides.

It was no more than a copy of an aerial photograph taken by a German aviator during the Great War which gave Dr. Bade his first clue to the Mizpah of Benjamin, lying not far from Tei-en-Nas-beth. There are five places of the same name, "mizpah," referred to in the Bible, but the site in question has been proved unquestionably to be that stormed by Sennacherib in 701 B.C., and described in Judges, Chapters 19-21. Human interest was not lacking, for there were revealed the breaches made by Assyrian warriors, as well as the "judgment seats within the gates," huge dual gates, which are indicated again and again in the Old Testament. Scholars were baffled that the word always was in the plural, but the only completely excavated Biblical city in the world to-day reveals that the prophets spoke of facts, for a double gate protected all within the city.

The long slot where rested the huge bar locking the gate against invaders is still to be seen, while the lock-stone and pivot stone, on which the ponderous doors swung, were discovered within the walls, carefully placed by long dead defenders who left them, unquestionably with the hope of shortly resuming peaceful occupation in a few short days. Instead, Dr. Bade and his men were destined to find them, and fit them into their proper places.

More than this was revealed. There was the ancient sanctuary of Astarte, the Ashtoreth of Babylonia, as well as that of Jehovah, with its sacrificial stone in place. For the first time since they were "gathered to their fathers," the tombs of ancient Hebrews were opened to sunlight. In them a wealth of pottery, some of it containing remnants of wax left as offerings to the dead, was found, reminding of the days when Judea was "flowing with milk and honey." Most dramatic, however, was the discovery of the seal of an army captain, Jaazaniah, who lived in 600 B.C., and is represented in II Kings 25:23, and also in Jeremiah 40:8, as going to Mizpah after the destruction of Jerusalem. Apparently, he died there, for his seal was found in the necropolis close to the city.

The Chinese Government Expedition to Sinkiang 1933-1935.—Dr. Sven Hedin, spoke in the Wu-Lien-Teh Hall at the Royal Asiatic Society on February 28th, 1935, in one of the most interesting lectures heard there for some time.

Dr. Hedin had just completed a long survey trip for the Chinese Government into Central Asia in which he and his foreign and Chinese colleagues undertook to study a feasible highway system which would link the central provinces with the northwest and Sinkiang, and ultimately, a road which would hook up with those in the Near East. In his lecture he visualized the day when the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans would be linked by a motor-road that would extend from the China coast to the Atlantic coast in Europe.

Summarizing briefly his travels in Asia, Dr. Hedin told his audience of his first trip when as a young man of 20 in 1890, he was sent as a member of King Oscar's embassy to the Shah of Persia and in 1890-91 he traveled through Khorasan and Turkestan to Kashgar. His real work as an Asiatic explorer, however, dates from 1893, when he began his journey across Asia from Orenburg through the Kirgis steppes, Pamir and the Takla-makan desert and finally to Peking, via the Lob-nor country. On this trip he lost his entire caravan and two men who died of thirst on the Takla-makan. On this journey, which took four years to complete, he explored the glaciers of the Mustaghata, and the mountains around the sources of the Yarkand Daria, and later discovered the ruins of an ancient Buddhist city in the Takla-makan desert.

In 1899 Dr. Hedin said he left on his second important Asiatic trek. This time he came down from the north in what was then Chinese Turkestan and crossed the Tarim River to lake Lob-nor. On the north shore of this lake he found evidence of Chinese civilization of the 3rd century B.C. From there he crossed Tibet traveling southeast and made two unsuccessful attempts to enter Lhasa. His experiences have been fully described in his "Conquest of Tibet" which was recently published in English, but as time was limited in the lecture he was not able to go into any details about any of these earlier expeditions as well as the fourth and last great expedition which carried him into Tibet in 1906 when he interviewed Tashi-Lama (Panchen Lama) and made sketches of all the sacred buildings in Tashi-lumpo and later discovered the fountain heads of the Indus and Brahmaputra Rivers, both of which have their sources between the 80th and 84th longitude, north of Nepal.

The speaker explained that more than 2,000 years ago, Alexander believed he had found the source of the Nile River when he came upon the Indus River

at the extreme end of his famous march to India. "However it was not until 2,000 years later, when I was lucky enough to find the source of the Indus hundreds of miles from where Alexander believed he had found the source of the Nile, that the actual fountain head was revealed to the western world," Dr. Hedin said.

He also went briefly into the scientific value of the big expedition across the Gobi desert which was undertaken by himself and a number of well-known scientists from 1926 to 1933. It was on this trip that he was able to ascertain the accuracy of his prophesy made 30 years earlier with regard to the course of the Cherchen River.

Concluding his lecture, Dr. Hedin dwelt briefly on the many experiences, both humorous and ironic, which overtook the expedition into Sinkiang for the Nanking Government. His trucks were used by Ma Chung-ying to flee to the Soviet border and later by General Sheng Shih-tsai to chase the rebels. He paid high tribute to the Chinese members of the expedition and said the entire party worked together as one. "We all faced the same dangers and we all suffered and laughed together. We took everything that came our way in the spirit of one big family."

A number of slides of the highway expedition were shown.

Dr. Hedin is the author of numerous books, among them being *A Conquest of Tibet* (1934), *Across the Gobi Desert* (1923), *Riddles of the Gobi Desert* (1933), *Jehol, City of Emperors* (1932) and many volumes of scientific value. At the close of his lecture Dr. Hedin was voted an Honorary Member of this Society.

A meeting of the Society was held in the Wu-Lien-Teh Hall, 20 Museum Road, on Thursday, March 7th, 1935, at 5.15 p.m., when Dr. H. F. Macnair, PH.D. gave his lecture, postponed from the previous week, on "The Cruise of the Caroline, Canton to the N.W. Coast of America and return, January to September 1799." The Chair was taken by A. D. Blackburn, Esq.

The Chemistry of Ancient Chinese Medicine.—Ancient China was credited with contributing much of value to the world and, in fact, with cradling the science of chemistry, by Prof. Bernard E. Read, in a lecture before the Society on March 21st, 1935. In an exposition of ancient medical history, the speaker traced the development of remedies in comparison with the development of mining and smelting facilities, describing the evolution of each in relation to medical research on the part of ancient alchemists.

In Lao-Tse, he declared, China in 1100 B.C. gave to the world the founder of alchemy, or, in modern parlance, chemistry. Throughout his address, Prof. Read drew parallels between customary remedies of the past and those still in use through the modern discoveries of their chemical constituents and properties. Kaolin, used not so many years ago in the experimental treatment of cholera in Tsinanfu, was in all probability first discovered as a medicine by earth-eating tribes, whilst chalk, first used centuries ago in China, Assyria, and Babylonia, as an internal and external syptic, still is employed in that capacity to-day.

Prof. Read sketched the ideology upon which ancient physicians based their cures, observing that first iron, then gold, silver, and mercury, with its various compounds, all were in use fairly early in Chinese medical history. To Taoism he ascribed the addition of numerous sublimates in the field of mineral medicaments, and outlined the plausible basis for these discoveries by Taoists who emphasized the principle of internal and external purification.

The ancient alchemist was bound by strict dietary laws, breathing exercises, and ethics. He believed the life principle was more inherent in certain drugs than in others, residing particularly in cinnabar, gold, silver, and jade in the mineral kingdom, mushrooms, pines, and peaches in the vegetable kingdom, and, in the chicken, tortoise, and crane in the animal kingdom. The "special elixir of eight," or the immortal elixir, according to the alchemist, was to be found in cinnabar, orpiment, realgar, sulphur, saltpetre, ammonia, cobalt ore, and mica. In reference to several common ancient medicines, it was suggested that in some of them might lie the foundation for modern research, and Prof. Read spoke a warning against static scepticism, which, he declared, is not conducive to progress.

Particularly did Prof. Read emphasize the qualities which, in his opinion, may determine the future of modern chemical research. These, briefly, he explained are careful observation, extreme honesty without secrecy, and a certain humility of mind which is a vital quality, not only of mind, but of character, and lends vitality which is wanting in static scepticism, which might spell disaster to healthy and efficient progress.

A meeting of the Society was held in the Wu-Lien-Teh Hall, 20 Museum Road, on Thursday, April 18th, 1935, at 5.15 p.m., when a Lecture was given by Dr. Florence Ayscough, on "Court Life in the T'ang Dynasty as Illustrated by the Poems of Tu Fu" accompanied by slides. The Chair was taken by A. D. Blackburn, Esq.

Glimpses from the Realm of Buddhism.—There are three stages in the initiation into Buddhism, entering into the cosmic spirit of Buddhism, "getting" the spirit and converting it into and incorporating it with one's personality or being, and arriving at the stage of Nirvanic life, or an all-embracing state of understanding, declared the Reverend Karl L. Reichelt, distinguished author of "Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism," speaking on "Glimpses from the Realm of Buddhism" at the Royal Asiatic Society on May 8th, 1935. The speaker was introduced by Dr. Evan Morgan, of the Christian Literature Society.

Buddhism is neither a religion nor a system of philosophy, but it embodies life itself, the speaker said. There is a distinction between the mechanical and the spiritual understanding of the metaphysical ideas which underlie Buddhism. Such distinctions in connection with initiation into Buddhism may be divided into three "layers," beginning with wisdom, which depends only on study and research, or the literal understanding of things of the Universe. An analogy may be drawn with the saying of St. Paul, "All sufficiency is with God, it is not the understanding of the letter which kills, but the spirit which gives it life."

The second stage in the initiation into Buddhism depends on a deep spiritual intuition, secured through faith, adoration, and meditation. It is a belief in the "wisdom from above," which frees man from the bondage of illusion and suffering, and which is conducive to a higher understanding of the working laws of the Universe.

The third or final "layer" brings with it an understanding of the "true appearances," or a wisdom which perceives the true appearances, free from all illusion. It is a Nirvanic state of life enabling an all-embracing view.

From the Christian point of view, the third "layer" may be likened to the sayings of St. Paul in the Corinthians, "For though as I see through a glass darkly, shall I know even as I am known."

These three "layers" underlie all the Buddhist ideas and metaphysical thinking, and give a unique emphasis and the key to Buddhism, which helps

to an understanding of the futility of dogmas and gives an accurate definition of the metaphysical relation. It also typifies a supreme allegiance to God and a loving faith in the Christian religion.

Does the third "layer" have merely a literal meaning, or does it mean a complete extinction of the personal life; does it mean anything positive? It is literal in meaning for the first layer, but for the second and final layers it has a positive meaning, and it is the only positive thing in Buddhism, but this meaning cannot be fully expressed on the earthly plane. It can only be expressed in negative terms, otherwise such explanations become mere false self-assertions.

The Nirvanic state of life does not mean the extinction of life and personality, but it means an extinction of all things which create limitations.

It represents the whole Universe in one great harmony, and aims at the cultivation of "pure results" and eternal value, just as Christ said "Lay up your treasures in Heaven."

There are many different facets of Buddhism, just as we have the Fundamentalist, the Liberal and other denominations of faith in the Christian religion.

Turning to Buddhism in China, the speaker declared that externally, it is on the decline, judged by the absence of grandeur in the architectural structures of Buddhist temples, while many of the Buddhist temples in this country have been converted by order of local Tangpus into public schools, and Buddhist monks are being scattered into big cities where they are eking out a living by many kinds of obscure divine practices.

Such outward signs do not mean the "dying out" of Buddhism in China. There has been a change in organization, and the rôle of the Buddhist monk is now gradually being assumed by the lay element, which has now come to the fore in causing a revival of Buddhism in this country.

"Sinica" films of Tibet Trip.—Intimate glimpses of the everyday mode of life and the religious practices of the Tibetans were screened at the Royal Asiatic Society on May 23rd, 1935, through "Sinica" moving pictures taken by the well-known German traveler and explorer, Dr. Wilhelm Filchner, during his passage through Russia, Sinkiang, Kansu, Tibet and India.

Dr. Filchner's career dates back to 1900. Between 1903-05, he was engaged in exploring the upper reaches of the Han and the Huang-ho Rivers. He joined a German Expedition in 1911 and was about to set out with Dr. Amundsen's North Pole Expedition when the Great War broke out and put an end to his ambition.

The purpose of Dr. Filchner's expedition was connected with research into geographical and terrestrial plains in West China and in Tibet. He started from Berlin, and by the overland route, made for Tashkent and crossed to Urumchi.

Dr. Filchner spent two months in Tihua (Urumchi), capital of Sinkiang.

Crossing the southern Gobi, Dr. Filchner reached Kansu where he remained the winter of 1926-27. His life there was saved by a Mr. Lu, a high Chinese official, and the friendly sympathy of General Ma Fu-hsiang, Mohammedan leader.

Pictures were shown of Tibetan social and religious life and great numbers of monasteries. The arrival of Dr. Filchner's party one day electrified the peace and seclusion of the Tibetan monastic life in Kumbum.

The uneventful and humdrum existence of the Lamas and the Tibetans is shaken only by the holding of the annual "Butter Feast" festival. The film showed the priests, petty thieves, and patriarchs joining in the expression of a gala mood and in doing homage to their gods. All grades of Tibetan monks meet on the occasion to take part in their examination, which is almost as simple as

saying "yes," for all that is required, for the answer is "Om Mani Padme Hum."

Mr. Steptoe of the British Consulate General interpreted the subtitles in the eight-reel film. The noted traveler himself was introduced by Mr. Earl Cressy, honorary secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Farewell Reception to Dr. and Mrs. Evan Morgan.—A farewell reception was given on the afternoon of May 30, from 5—6.30, by the Royal Asiatic Society in its hall to Dr. and Mrs. Evan Morgan, residents for fifty years in China, and long associated with the work of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and its *Journal*. Dr. and Mrs. Morgan were returning to their home in Wales and were to sail June 2 in the Empress of Asia.

Mr. Vyvian Dent presented the society with a large photograph of Dr. Morgan, and Mr. A. D. Blackburn, president, made the speech of farewell. Dr. Morgan replied with his regrets at leaving the friends he and Mrs. Morgan have made in China and expressed his hopes for the future of this country.

Present at the reception were:—

Miss Elizabeth Irvine, Mr. T. C. Germain, Miss Verne McNeely, Mr. W. S. Chang, Mr. Y. S. Chang, Miss Gertrude N. Oldroyd, Dr. and Mrs. F. L. Hawks Pott, Mr. and Mrs. C. Findlay Andrew, Mr. E. H. Cressy, Mrs. W. J. Jones, Dr. and Mrs. E. M. Gale, Mrs. Chester Fritz, Mr. and Mrs. A. J. Hughes, Mrs. James Macbeth, the Rev. C. Wilfred Allan, Mr. P. C. Raeburn, Mr. H. Jansen, Mr. Chas. E. Patton, Mr. H. S. Liu, Dr. H. Couper Patrick, Dr. Wu Lien-teh, Mr. and Mrs. R. D. Abraham, Mr. Eric D. Clarke, Mr. and Mrs. Ely, Dr. Fong F. Sec., Mr. and Mrs. L. S. Fryer, Mr. H. M. Lin, Dr. B. E. Read, Mr. R. V. Dent, Mr. A. McL. Duncan, Mrs. Charles Patton, Mr. and Mrs. D. E. J. Abraham, Mr. Eric Davis, Mr. M. H. A. Ouskouli, Mr. Frederick Thomas, Mr. Cheng Tsa-yoong, Mr. William Yinson Lee, Mr. J. Goldberg, Mrs. A. W. Sherriff, Mr. James G. Sakamoto, Mr. G. L. Wilson, Miss S. S. Tranter, Mr. and Mrs. Aldred F. Barker, Mr. W. Wiles, Mr. S. W. Ting, Mr. H. G. W. Woodhead, and Mr. Kenneth C. Barker.

OBITUARY

DR. HERBERT ALLEN GILES (翟理斯), M.A., LL.D., D.LITT. b. December 8, 1845; d. in London, February 13, 1935.

His name first appears in Vol. XV of this *Journal* in the report of the Council as having been nominated during the year 1880 to be a Corresponding Member of this Society. He remained in this relation till 1904, when I had the privilege of proposing that he should be elected Honorary Member and as such he continued till his death on 13th February, 1935. He was President of the Society in 1885 for one year. This is a remarkable record in our annals as it shows that Dr. Giles was connected with the Society for the long period of fifty-five years. Only one of his contemporaries had this high distinction, Henri Cordier, whose membership dated from 1870 and lasted till his death March 16, 1925. The nearest approach to the records of these two distinguished members is that of Martin, whose term lasted fifty-two years. That of Edkins was forty-eight years, Kingsmill's forty-six, while Richtofen's was only twenty-five and Wylie's twenty-three. Of his long life Dr. Giles spent only twenty-nine years in China, arriving in 1867 and resigning from the British Consular Service in 1893. In 1897 he was appointed Professor of Chinese at the University of Cambridge and spent twenty-five years in this position. After his resignation in 1922 he lived quietly in his home at 10 Selwyn Gardens, Cambridge, till the end came.

In an appreciation of "Dr. Giles at 80," which I wrote for the *China Journal* in 1926, I expressed the opinion that in making the study of the Chinese language and literature easier for students he had no rival among all westerners who have ever lived in China. His first work on this line, *Chinese Without a Teacher*, published in 1872, ran into the eighth edition. Later came his *Colloquial Idioms*, *Synoptical Studies*, *Chinese Sketches* and *Gems of Chinese Literature*. All of these are of great value to students and lighten their work. He prepared these volumes with full knowledge of the difficulties of beginners, for he himself had commenced the study of Chinese alone in a room with a teacher who spoke no English and with an abridged version of Morrison's Dictionary as his only help. He determined to change such conditions and his main effort in life was to make the crooked places straight and the rough places plain for future students of the language. His first contribution to this *Journal* was in Vol. XVII, 1882, entitled "Notes on Chinese Composition" and it was intended as a contribution to this desirable end.

His motive is made clear in his Preface to the First Edition of his great Dictionary. Contrasting conditions in 1892 with his own start, he found that students of the later period could be carried on "rapidly to points which had previously been attained only by infinite toil and perseverance. The coming generation of sinologues, once through the years of initial drudgery, will be able almost to begin where their predecessors left off. The acquisition of Chinese

need no longer be regarded as a hopeless task." He was deeply interested in the Consular Service with which he was connected and his Dictionary was "intended primarily for use of the British Consular Service in China." His loyalty is shown in the last sentence of the Preface in which the Dictionary is presented to the Service "as a votive offering for its honour and advancement." He acknowledged with deep gratitude the generous aid given him by his colleagues in the Service—Hopkins, Parker, Playfair, Frazer, and Hausser. He referred to the first three of these men as "the flower of Anglo-Chinese scholarship in H. B. M. Consular Service." These words of kindly appreciation were characteristic of Giles, but he also had another side. He could flay without mercy the careless or the pompous. He was a keen warrior and often could smell the battle afar off.

The Dictionary was his great work and his other publications such as his *Biographical Dictionary*, *History of Chinese Pictorial Art* and *Glossary of Reference* may be considered as by-products of the specific process of preparing it. I remember vividly its appearance in 1892 and my own eagerness in comparing it with Williams' *Syllabic Dictionary* which I had used up to that time. Its orthography was strange to me. Even Giles did not care for it and spoke of it as "anything but scientifically exact. In some respects it is cumbersome; in others inconsistent." And yet he adopted it lest he should add to the existing confusion by launching a new system of transliteration in competition with Wade's which had "at any rate the merit of being first in the field." It seems to me a matter for regret that he did not allow his dissent from Wade's illogical system to lead him to adopt the standards of value of the English alphabet which had already been approved by the Philological Society of England and were in practical use in the preparation of the *New English Dictionary* at Oxford University. He was evidently guided by his loyalty to the traditions of the Service but unfortunately this has placed on the shoulders of all later students of the language a burden heavy to be borne. As it is, the system of Sir Thomas Wade has been perpetuated, though Wade would never have claimed himself to be a scholar fitted for the task of fathering a system of romanization. His cumbrous and awkward forms are sometimes the result of what Johnson would have called "sheer ignorance." Giles with the aid of Hopkins and Parker and the advice of the Philological Society might have given us a system which could have been used alongside of the standard English dictionaries familiar to all students. The present system retards rather than aids students in their first studies of the Chinese language.

Giles was a brilliant scholar, capable of flashing his light into the dark mysteries of alien phrases. He followed the sound principle of making good sense out of his translation. If it did not make sense it was not correct. He had a large vocabulary in his own language and he borrowed from all available sources. He says of his methods that "exclusive of his own reading he ransacked the writings of his contemporaries." Parker said of him in a playful mood that Giles had copied all the mistakes as well as the correct translations of Williams. In this *Journal*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 223, Parker, calling attention to some variations of usage, refers twice to Giles (following Williams) and in Vol. XXXIX, p. 174, says that "Mr. Giles has simply copied an error of Wylie," but such sly digs did not disturb Giles, who made no attempt to conceal the fact that he gathered his information from all available sources. Though he did not always mention individuals, this failure was well covered by the blanket of acknowledgment which he threw over all his work. His Dictionary is much more than an enlargement of Williams just as his *Biographical Dictionary* is much more than an expansion of Mayer's *Reader's Manual*. Giles was all-devouring but he was not a plagiarist.

He might have been a poet, though one would scarcely have suspected real talent in the writer of his first contribution to the *China Review*, Vol. II, 1873-4, which was a metrical version of "A Thousand Character Essay." In my review of Mrs. Ayscough's *Fir Flower Tablets* in this *Journal*, Vol. LIII, p. 70, I contrasted favorably the version made by Giles with those of other translators of Li Po's drinking song. This is worthy of an honorable place in English literature. His accurate use of his own language was supplemented by a brilliant imagination. His mind seemed always to be full of mental pictures which he tried to paint in the clear-flowing lines of his sentences.

Like Legge, Giles did not come into contact with any of the great Chinese scholars of his time. He acknowledges in the Preface of his Dictionary his debt to the two Chinese writers, Messrs. Ch'eng and Chin of the Ningpo and Shanghai Consulates, but for the most part his knowledge was that of the mart and the study. He lived for years almost within stone's throw of one of the great libraries of China—the T'ien I Ko of the Fan family of Ningpo—and yet in none of his writings have I ever seen any reference to its treasures, nor do I remember to have seen Giles' name mentioned in any of the early modern literature of China in which one sees constant reference to Fryer, Richard or Allen. His work was intended for the benefit of his own countrymen and among these he rightly holds a premier place.

JOHN C. FERGUSON.

BERTHOLD LAUFER, F.H.D., LL.D. b. at Cologne, Germany, October 11th, 1874; d. at Chicago, U.S.A., September 14th, 1934. Life member of the Society since 1901.

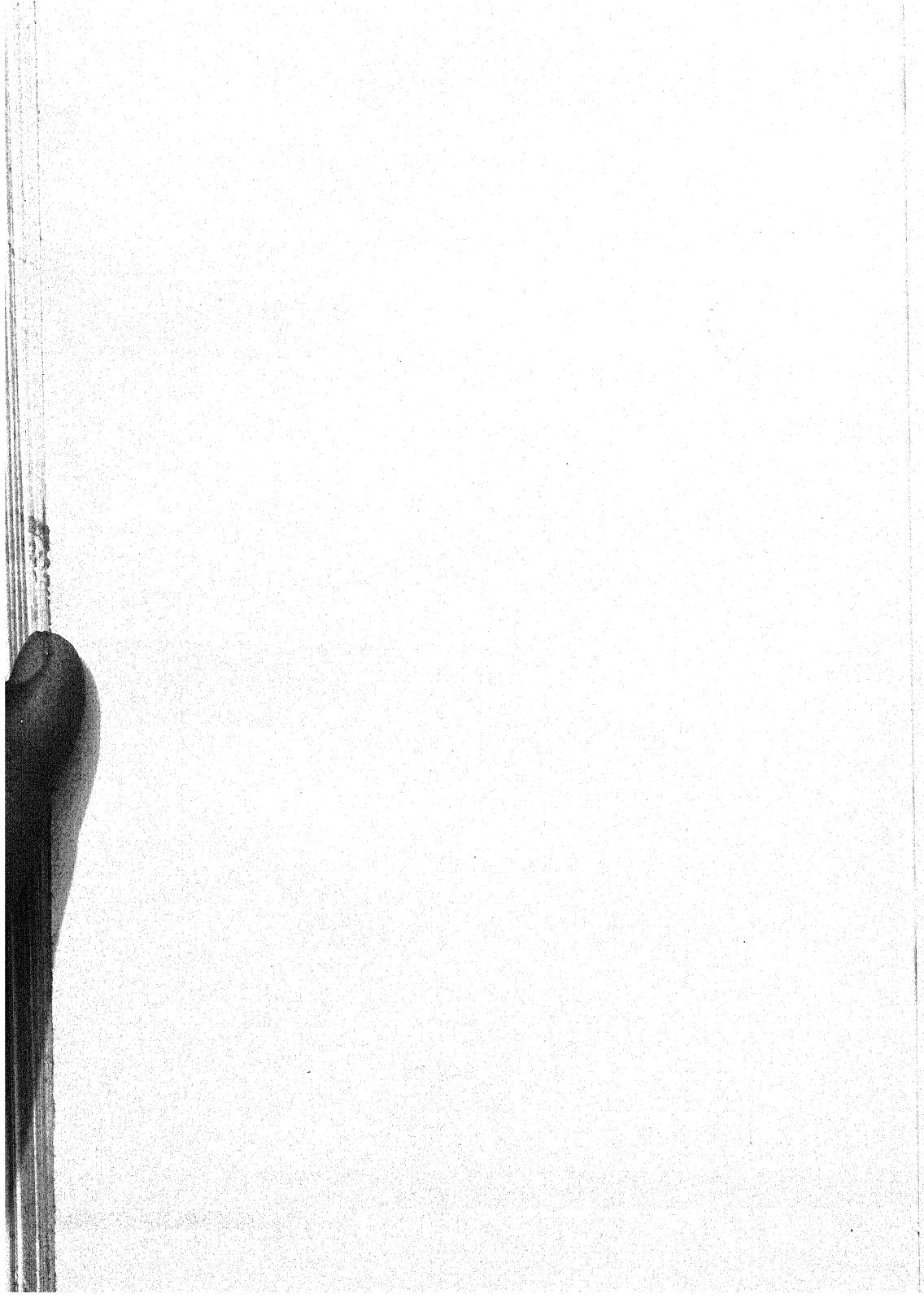
As in so many other fields of scientific attainment, Germany gave to America yet another of her sons to awaken in the new world a scholarly interest in the oldest continuous civilizations. Junior contemporary of Professor Hirth of Columbia, Laufer did not confine himself by any means to philology as the former did; yet he was unrivaled even in that field as relating to the Far East for he not only mastered the classical and modern languages of Europe including Russian, but he had more than a working knowledge of Chinese, Japanese, Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongol, Tangut, and other languages of the Extreme Orient. One University in the United States persistently sought him for its chair of Chinese almost to the day of his death, forgetting that Laufer was at home only in a world in which the petty segregations of scholasticism had no part. "His interests extended over enormous fields. He wrote on subjects relating to the ethnology, archaeology, art and languages of Asia, and on the history of cultivated plants and domesticated animals." Above the waters of Lake Michigan in his cabinet on the upper floor of the Field Museum of Natural History at Chicago, Laufer held sway over a realm from which he abdicated only at his own choice and time. Those of us who enjoyed his sympathy and confidence could find him somewhere in these uppermost rooms and corridors surrounded by books in all languages, by specimens, by models: and busy as he was he would enthusiastically conduct the worthy to the magnificent display cases below where were held part of the fruits of his four great expeditions to the Orient. These were the Jesup North Pacific Expedition to Saghalin Island and the Amur region of Eastern Siberia (1898-99), commenced in the year after he first came to the United States; the Jacob H. Schiff Expedition to China (1901-04); the Blackstone Expedition to Tibet and China (1908-10); and the Marshal Field Expedition to China (1923). In all of these expeditions cultural and historical investigations were carried out and important ethnological collections secured. These collections are to be found particularly in the American Museum of Natural History (New



BERTHOLD LAUFER

1874—1934

Reprinted From The Journal of the American Oriental Society.



York) where Laufer served as assistant in Ethnology (1904-60), and in the magnificent Central and East Asiatic displays in the Field Museum of Natural History (Chicago) where he served successively as assistant curator of Asiatic Ethnology (1908—), associate curator (1911—) and curator of Anthropology (1915—). Among his labours was the extensive collection of oriental books and manuscripts for the Newberry and John Crerar Libraries at Chicago. From 1905-07 he was lecturer in Anthropology and East Asiatic Languages at Columbia University. The preparation for these remarkable rôles in science and scholarship had been characteristically thorough—in the Friedrich Wilhelm Gymnasium (1884-93), the University of Berlin (1893-95), the Seminar for Oriental Languages (1894-95), concluding with his doctorate studies at the University of Leipzig (1897). His work in Chinese was done under the distinguished sinologue Professor Wilhelm Grube.

The vast scope and the permanency of Berthold Laufer's contributions to Oriental scholarship is notably expressed in the memorial adopted by the American Oriental Society, to the presidency of which he had attained in 1930-31, ".....in the world of scholarship he stood out primarily as an ethnologist, and perhaps his chief contribution was the application of the principles and methods of ethnology to historic civilizations. No man has contributed more to our knowledge of the origins, diffusion and development of specific cultural traits. This was the unity which ran through the amazingly diverse fields of his investigations. Whether he was collecting the folk-lore concerning the diamond from the Mediterranean to the Pacific, or tracing the migrations of cultivated plants across the continent of Asia, or outlining the stages in the development of defensive armour, his interest lay always in the history of the slow onward march of civilization. His work was fundamental; only with the lapse of years may we realize its full importance." In addition to many public activities, including membership in numerous learned societies in America and Europe, collaborator of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, prime mover in the establishment of the Committees for the Promotion of Chinese and Japanese Studies under the American Council of Learned Societies, Dr. Laufer was the author of numerous scholarly works including notably *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty* and his classic *Jade; a Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion*. His *Bibliography 1895-1934** lists no less than 222 separate books, articles and monographs, illustrating the prodigious range of his interest and industry. His greatest vision, the establishment of a centre of Oriental Studies at the Library of Congress at Washington, D.C., may still be realized.

ESSON M. GALE.

WILLIAM EDWARD SOOTHILL, M.A. (OXFORD), HON. M.A. (CAMBRIDGE), F.R.G.S.
b. January 23, 1861, at Halifax; d. May 15th, 1935, in London.

One of that notable earlier group combining the missionary, educationalist and sinologue, Professor Soothill contributed substantially to the making of modern China. He commenced his career at Wenchow in the United Methodist Church Mission; here from the years 1882 to 1907 he laboured in the establishment of churches, a hospital, a college and several schools. In the latter year he assumed the Presidency of the Imperial University of Shansi Province, remaining there until 1911 when for another three years he served as President of the proposed University for China under the United Universities Scheme.

* Cf. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 54, No. 4, pp. 349-362.

During the World War years he was director of religious work of the Y.M.C.A. With his retirement to England, in addition to occupancy of the chair of Chinese at Oxford University, his knowledge of China, particularly in the field of education, was availed of in an appointment as Member of the China Indemnity Statutory Advisory Committee (1925) of the Boxer Indemnity Administration. He then served on Lord Willingdon's delegation to China the following year, and held a visiting professorship at Columbia University (New York City) in 1928. Included in Professor Soothill's diversified activities was an uninterrupted productivity in scholarship. His earliest work in philology was the compilation of the Wenchow romanized system (The New Test in Wenchowese) while his translation, the Analects of Confucius (1910), provided an Anglo-Chinese text-book of marked value with its improvement in the translations, its illuminating notes and its concordance of earlier translations. His Student's Pocket Chinese Dictionary (1899) forms the well-thumbed *vademecum* for most foreign readers of Chinese. The Lotus of the Wonderful Law (1930) (in collaboration) is an abridged translation of a Buddhist tractate. With Prof. L. Hodous, his last work was the compilation of a Dictionary of Chinese Buddhism of which he wrote (in a letter to the present writer dated August 31st, 1933). "It runs to 1800 typed foolscap pages It is Chinese-Sanskrit-English and will open the eyes of those who use it to the astonishing discussion of Indian philosophy as translated chiefly during the T'ang dynasty." His abiding enthusiasm and deep concern in the promotion of an interest in Chinese scholarship is recorded in the same letter: "I hope you will be able" he wrote, "to find out and stimulate those who are or ought to be interested in Chinese scholarship. I have risked my reputation here in securing the adequate financial foundation of four chairs, London, Oxford, Cambridge, and Manchester, and it will now depend on the occupants of those chairs to make good, not only in the ancient culture of China, but in presentation of the important modern developments At my suggestion Manchester University is specializing on Economics, as London is in Art and Archaeology, Oxford in Philosophy and Religion, and Cambridge in History and Geography. This specialization was not intended to prevent freedom of dealing with any subject, but that the Professor or Reader should be chosen for special qualifications". Educator primarily, Professor Soothill's writings envisaged the instruction of the English speaking world on China, its language, history and culture, rather than profound researches in limited scholastic fields. Illuminating and informative for this purpose are such of his books as The Three Religions of China, China and the West (1925), A History of China (1927), China and England (1928). The sympathy of the Society is extended to Lady Dorothea Hosie, daughter of Professor Soothill, whose charming books on China continue the work of her distinguished father.

ESSON M. GALE.

BENJAMIN MARCH, one of the foremost authorities on Far Eastern Art in America, died at his home in Ann Arbor, Michigan, on December 13th, 1934. In 1928 he became Honorary Curator of Oriental Aesthetic Art in the Museum of Anthropology at the University of Michigan and since 1932 had been Curator, Freer Fellow and Lecturer on Far Eastern Art. He was but thirty-five years of age, A member of this Society since 1924, Mr. March was a native of Chicago, Illinois. Following his graduation from the University of Chicago in 1922 he studied at the Union Theological Seminary for a year, after which he spent several years in the Orient teaching and lecturing in Chinese colleges. Before coming to the University of Michigan he lectured on Chinese Art at Columbia

University, New York. He wrote many scholarly articles on Oriental aesthetics and was the author of *China and Japan in Our Museums* and, in 1934, *Standards of Pottery Description*—in which he developed a new technique for the scientific study of the materials and methods of manufacture of ancient Chinese pottery.

The deepest sympathy of the Society is extended to Dr. D. Willard Lyon and Mrs. Lyon in the death of their son, Lawrence, under tragic circumstances, at Los Angeles, California, on November eleventh 1934. Lawrence Lyon was born in Shanghai, where Dr. Lyon, a member of this Society since 1927 and a scholarly contributor to the *Journal*, was for many years associate general secretary of the National Committee of the Y.M.C.A. in China and organizer of the first Y.M.C.A. in China.

The Director of the Museo Argentino de Ciencias Naturales regrets to announce to his colleagues and to scientific institutions the death of Professor Dr. Angel Gallardo, former Director of the Museum (1911-1916) and at the time Honorary Chief of the Section of Entomology, which occurred on May 13th, 1934.

The Director and Members of l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient regret to announce their deep loss in the recent death of M. Louis Finot, Membre de l'Institut, first Directeur de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Professeur honoraire au Collège de France, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, who passed away at Paris in his seventy-first year.

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Presented by the Publisher:

The Phonetic System of Ancient Japanese, by S. Yoshitake, 1934.	Royal Asiatic Soc., London.
Bibliographie Bouddhique, Tome II 1929-30 Tome III 1930-31	Paul Geuthner, Paris.
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China's Problems and their Solution, by Wang Ching-wei, 1933.	" "

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**NORTH-CHINA BRANCH
OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY**

LIST OF MEMBERS, 1935.

Members changing address are earnestly requested to
inform the Secretary at once.

Name	Address	Year of Election

HONORARY MEMBERS

Ayscough, Mrs. F., D. LITT.	22 Hauteville, Guernsey, C.I., Gt. Britain	1906
Barton, Sir Sidney, K.B.E., C.M.G.	British Legation, Addis Ababa, Abyssinia	1906
Ferguson, Dr. John C.	3 Hsi Chiao Hutung, Peiping	1896
Forke, Dr. A.	The University, Hamburg, Germany	1894
Hedin, Dr. Sven	Stockholm, Sweden	1935
Lanman, Prof. Charles R.	Harvard University, 9 Farrer Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.	1908
Lockhart, Sir J. H. Stewart, K.C.M.G.	6 Cresswell Gardens, South Kensington, London, S.W. 5, England	1885
Mason, Isaac, F.R.G.S.	"Suining," Loxwood Avenue, Worthing, Sussex, England	1916
Morgan, Rev. Evan, D.D.	Llangeitho, Tregaron, Cardiganshire, Gt. Britain	1935
Pelliot, Prof. Paul	59 Avenue Foch, Paris, XVIe, France	{(*1901) 1901}
Pott, Dr. F. L. Hawks.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1913
Putnam, Dr. Herbert	Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.	1908
Sampatrao, H. H. the Prince	Gaekwar of Baroda, India	1898
Williams, E. T., LL.D.	1410 Scenic Avenue, Berkeley, Calif., U.S.A.	1889

Name	Address	Year of Election
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MEMBERS

(The asterisk denotes Life Membership).

Abbott, W. E.	c/o Chief Sanitation Chemist, S.M.C., Shanghai	1926
Abend, Hallett	14 Route Winling, Shanghai	1933
Abraham, Miss A.	83 Peking Road, Shanghai	1933
Abraham, D. E. J.	83 Peking Road, Shanghai	1935
*Abraham, R. D.	83 Peking Road, Shanghai	1914
Adams, Rev. A. S.	American Baptist Foreign Mission, Hopo, via Swatow, South China	1923
Adlam, Miss Edith M.	Ellis Kadoorie School, Shanghai	1920
Adrianoff, N. W.	Public Health Dept. S.M.C., Shanghai	1935
Ainger, Major E.	House No. 11, 600 Avenue Haig, Shanghai	1935
Alexander, John	H. B. M. Consulate, Nanking	1932
Allan, Dr. D. J.	House 7, 175 Kiaochoow Road, Shanghai	1935
Allan, Rev. C. W.	128 Museum Road, Shanghai	1933
Allman, Norwood F.	Hamilton House, Room 206, Shanghai	1932
Andrew, G. Findley	c/o Butterfield & Swire, Shanghai	1935
Argelander, F.	M. E. Mission, Kiukiang	1930
Arlington, L. C.	8 Ta T'ien Shui Ching, Peiping	1917
Arnold, Julean H.	Room 502 Dollar Bldg., 51 Canton Road, Shanghai	1904
Bacci, E.	Sennet Frères, Pedder Street, Hong- kong	1934
Bahnson, J. J.	Rosslyn House, Oatlands Park, Wey- bridge, Surrey	1909
Bahr, A. W.	B. A. T. Securities Co., Ltd., 175 Soochow Road, Shanghai	1925
Bailey, R.	Headmaster, Polytechnic Public School, Shanghai	1931
Ballie, T. G., B. Sc.	Junior College, Modesto, Cal., U.S.A. . .	1923
Baker, D. C.	The Central Bank of China, 15 The Bund, Shanghai	1935
Baker, J. E.	Chinhoza, Ningpo	1931
*Barchet, Miss H.	Chiao Tung University, Shanghai	1935
Barker, Prof. A. F.	Chiao Tung University, Shanghai	1935
Barker, Prof. K. C.	131 Museum Road, Shanghai	1926
Barnett, Eugene E.	Room 217 Hamilton House, Shanghai	1920
Barrie, Dr. Howard	445 Shanhikwan Road, Shanghai	1935
Bartley, H. S.	English Methodist Mission, Tangshan, Hopei, N. China	1934
Barton, Rev. E. Tomlin, B.D. (LOND.)	B.A.T. Co. (China), Ltd., 175 Soo- chow Road, Shanghai	1934
Bassett, Major A.	c/o Caldbeck, McGregor & Co., 44 Foochow Road, Shanghai	1933
*Bateman, E. F.		

Name	Address	Year of Election
Bates, J. A. E. Sanders	The University Press, 160 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai	1934
*Bayne, Parker M.	Acadia University, Wolfville, Nova Scotia, Canada	1911
Beale, N. G.	General Elec. Co. of China, Ltd., Shanghai	1932
Beaman, W. F.	382 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai (cor. Rue Chapsal)	1921
Bebenin, V. S.	S. M. Police, Headquarters, Shanghai	1935
*Beauvais, J.		1900
Behrens, I.	Gt. Northern Telegraph Co., Shanghai	1935
Bell, A. D.	Room 416, 150 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1933
Belchenko, A. T.	Portuguese Consulate, Hankow	1918
Bennett, C. R.	National City Bank, Peiping	1933
*Bessell, F. L.	c/o Dr. Alderson, 34 Knight's Park, Kingston-on-Thames, England	1905
Bialas, Rev. Father Dr. F. X.	The Catholic University, Peiping	1927
*Bigel, Emile	Municipalite Francaise, Revenue Dept., 230 Route de Say Zoong, Shanghai	1925
Binkley, C. K.	Cobb, California, U.S.A.	1934
Bixby, H. M.	China Airways, Fed. Inc., 51 Canton Road, Shanghai	1935
*Black, S.	Ulvemosevej 1, Rungsted, Kyot, Denmark	1910
Blackburn, A. D., C.B.E.	British Embassy, Peiping	1917
Block, M. S.	Block Mfg. & Lumber Co., Ltd., 14 Boone Road, Shanghai	1935
Boey, P. L. Mingcheng	May Hall, Hongkong University, Hongkong	1929
Boezi, Dr. Guido	25 Via Pietro Borsieri, Rome (149), Italy	1920
Boland, Capt. B.	1920 Avenue Joffre, Flat 400, Shanghai	1935
Bonin, Dr. G. von	Dept. of Anatomy, Peking Union Medical College, Peiping	1926
Boode, E. P.	25 Bazarstraat, The Hague, Holland	1920
*Bookless, A.	Chinese Government Salt Inspectorate, Tzuliutsing, Szechuan	1933
Bos, W.	Vlentin (v.), Holland	1923
Bosack, S. B.	Apt. No. 33, 1033 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai	1933
Bowden, V. G.	Cameron and Co. Ltd., 81 Jinkee Road, Shanghai	1928
Bowen, F. A.	Comacrib Press, Museum Road, Shanghai	1935
Bowen, Mrs. A. J.	975 N. Garfield Avenue, Pasadena, Calif., U.S.A.	1929
*Box, Rev. Ernest	Medhurst, 26 Homesdale Road, Bexhill-on-sea, England	1897
*Brace, Capt. A. J.	Chengtu, Szechuan	1921
Brand, J. K.	Messrs. Cumming & Brand, H. & S. Bank Building, Shanghai	1933

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Name	Address	Year of Election
Bremer, Miss M. A.	Am. Church Mission, Yangchow . . .	1929
Brenan, Sir J. F., K.C.M.G.	British Consulate-General, Shanghai . .	1930
Brenneman, Mrs. J. J.	176 Route Dufour, Apt. No. 22, Shanghai	1922
Brind, B.	Reiss Massey & Co., Shanghai	1935
Brisker, M. G.	c/o The Thatched House Club, 86 St. James' Street, London, W.	1921
Bristow, John A.	Socony Vacuum Co., Shanghai	1933
Brittle, Miss Edith M.	70 West End Gardens, Shanghai	1932
*Britton, Roswell S.	430 West 118th St., New York City, U.S.A.	1931
Britland, Rev. A. J. D.	Church of England Mission, Peiping . .	1924
Brooke, J. T. W.	Davies, Brooke & Gran, Shanghai . .	1915
Browett, Harold	34 Museum Road, Shanghai	1891
Brown, I. S.	U.S. Consulate-General, Shanghai . .	1927
Brown, Rev. J. L.	Holy Trinity Cathedral, 219 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1935
Brown, Miss M. H.	c/o Miss Drummond, 15 Regent St., Ottawa, Canada	1931
Brown, Rev. M.	Shanghai Jewish School, 544 Seymour Road, Shanghai	1933
Brown, N. S.	Butterfield & Swire, Shanghai	1930
*Brown, Thomas	La Roque, 17 Overton Road, Sutton, Surrey	1885
*Bruce, Edward B.	"Teesdale," 31 Egmont Road, Sutton, Surrey, England	1918
Bruce, Rev. J. Percy, D.LITT.	108 Great Western Road, Shanghai . .	1916
Bruder, Mrs. F. F.	Dr. Jackson & Partners, 27 Peking Road, Shanghai	1935
Bryson, Dr. A. C.	c/o British Embassy Peiping	1932
*Buchanan, E. M.	Lutheran Theol. Seminary, Shekow, Hankow, Hupeh	1933
*Buckens, Dr. F.	6 Place de la Concorde, Paris 8e, France	1915
Bugge, Rev. Sten	Baptist Mission, West Gate, Shanghai . .	1924
*Buma, C. W. A.	2 Canton Road, Shanghai	1921
Burdick, Miss S. M.	British Wireless Marine Service, 2nd floor, Hongkong Bank Chambers, Calleyer Quay, Singapore	1909
Burkill, A. W.	Asiatic Petroleum Co., Tsinanfu	1912
Burnett, W. J.	Scott Harding & Co., Shanghai	1923
Butland, C. A.	U.S. Commercial Attaché's Office, 51 Canton Road, Shanghai	1920
Butt, D. M.	M. E. Mission, Futsing, Fu	1935
	Bisset & Co., J. P., 12 The Bund, Shanghai	1938
Calder, A. Bland		
Caldwell, Rev. H. R.		
Cannan, A. M.		

Name	Address	Year of Election
Carey, H. Foote	Woosung-Hankow Pilots, Shanghai ..	1928
Carlsen, N. P. V.	Gt. Northern Telegraph Co., 34 Ave. Edward VII, Shanghai	1928
*Carpenter, G. B.	Insurance Co. of North America 113 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1920
Carpenter, P. S. P.	2923 Packard Street, Long Island City, N.Y., U.S.A.	1935
Carr, Paul R.	Java-China-Japan Lijn, Shanghai	1928
Carrière, J. D.	Hamilton House, Room 339-341, Shanghai	1932
Carvalho, Dr. A. de	c/o Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Shanghai	1935
Cassels, W. C.	Shanghai University, Yangtzeppoo, Shanghai	1921
Chambers, Mrs. R. E.	Underwriters Savings Bank, 17 The Bund, Shanghai	1935
Chang, F.	Ming Hwa Bank, 330 Peking Rd., S'hai 1726 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai	1924
Chang, K. P.	c/o Ta Hwa Petroleum Co., Ltd., 109-111 Rue Pasteur, Tientsin	1934
Chang, S. C.	c/o Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nanking	1934
Chang Ying-hua	Fuh Tan University, Kiangwan, Shanghai	1928
Chang Hsin-hai, PH.D.	Apt. F. No. 8, 166 Route de la Tour, Shanghai	1933
Chang, Kwang Tou	Salt Revenue Administration, 18 The Bund, Shanghai	1933
Chang, Sherman H. M., PH.D.	National Geological Survey, Ping Ma Ssu, Peiping	1934
Chapman III, F. J.	Whangpoo Conservancy Board, Shanghai	1935
Chardin, Père T. de	Tsinanfu, Shantung	1916
Chatley, Herbert, D.S.C.	Shanghai Commercial & Savings Bank, Shanghai	1922
Cheelo University	Kincheng Banking Corp., Shanghai	1933
*Chen, K. P.	c/o North China Daily News, Shanghai	1933
Chen, L. T.	c/o Messrs. Hung Chong, 149 Szechuan Road, Shanghai	1923
*Chen, W. Hanming	1954 Avenue Haig, Shanghai	1935
Cheng Tsee Yoong	House 10, Pass. 100 Rue Paul Henry, Shanghai	1935
*Chiao Tung University, Librarian..	Lloyd Triestino, Hamilton House, Shanghai	1935
Chien Soo-Chun, Miss	c/o The China Critic, Shanghai	1923
Chieri Cav. Uff. Dott V.,	Bank of Kiangsu, 371 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1933
Chou, Mrs. U. T. Bang	World's Chinese Students' Federation, Shanghai	1935
Chow Yao	St. John's University, Shanghai	1932
Chu, P. K.	National Medical College of Shanghai, 378 Avenue Haig, Shanghai	1934
Chu, Dr. Yuanting T.		1935
Chu, Dr. Tso-chih		

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Name	Address	Year of Election
Chun, Dr. J. W. H.	National Quarantine Service, 2 Peking Road, Shanghai	1935
Clarke, E. G.	Bisset & Co., J. P., 12 The Bund, Shanghai	1932
Cleland, H. R.	Lowe, Bingham & Matthews, 2 Peking Road, Shanghai	1935
*Clementi, His Excellency Sir Cecil.	Holmer Court, Holmer Green, High Wycombe, Bucks, England	1905
Clubb, O. Edmund, A.B.	American Consulate, Hankow	1931
Coifford, J.	French Consulate-General, Shanghai	1934
*Cole, Rev. W. B.	Sien Yu, Fukien	1917
Coleman, N. L.	167 Bubbling Well Rd., Shanghai	1934
Conrad, H.	Agfa China Co., 261 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1935
Contag, Dr. Victoria	German Consulate-General, 10 Whangpo Road, Shanghai	1935
Cook, Capt. A.	Messrs. Butterfield & Swire, Hongkong	1929
Cook, Cyril B.	Imperial Chemical Industries (China), Ltd., Shanghai	1933
Coole, A. B.	Tientsin Hui Wen Academy, M. E. Church, South Suburb, Tientsin	1926
Cooper, Miss G. L.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1928
Corbett, R. J.	Socony-Vacuum Co., Shanghai	1933
Couling, Mrs. C. E.	40 Birchington Road, Crouch End, London, N. 8	1916
Coushnir, I. S.	The Bookstall, 282 Yü Yuen Road, Shanghai	1931
Cousins, L. G.	Yee Tsong Tobacco Co., Ltd., 175 Soochow Road, Shanghai	1935
*Cressey, Prof. G. B.	Dept. of Geology & Geography, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y., U.S.A.	1925
Cressy, Rev. Earl H.	351 Rue Cardinal Mercier, Shanghai	1928
Crisler, C. C.	528 Ningkuo Road, Shanghai	1935
Crow, C.	81 Jinkee Road, Shanghai	1913
Cumine, H. M.	149 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1929
Cunningham, Hon. E. S.	American Consulate-General, Shanghai	1922
Currelly, C. T.	Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto, Canada	1923
Dale, Rev. Alan T.	Methodist Mission, T'angshan, Hopei, North China	1934
D'Alton, V. L.	Chinese Post Office, Tientsin	1924
D'Alton, Mrs. F.	c/o " " " " "	1930
*Darch, O. W.	c/o The Asiatic Petroleum Co., Ltd., St. Helens Court, Gt. St. Helens, London E.C. 3, England	1922
Davey, W. J.	c/o Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, 9 Gracechurch Street, London, E.C. 3, England	1920
Davis, John Ker.	American Consulate-General, Vancouver, British Columbia	1927

Name	Address	Year of Election
Davis, Dr. C. Noel	c/o Messrs. John Pook & Co., 68 Fenchurch St., London, E.C., England	
Davis, Monnett B.	American Consulate-General, Shanghai	1910
Davis, R. W.	North-China Daily News, Shanghai	1935
D'Elia, Rev. Father P. M., S.J.	Bureau Sinologique, Siccawei, Shanghai	1924
De Korne, Rev. John C.	Wellsburg, Iowa, U.S.A.	1928
Delhaye, L. G.	Belgian Consulate-General, Shanghai	1927
*Deas, Stuart	c/o Messrs. John Swire & Sons, 8 Billitor Square, London, E.C., England	1935
Dent, R. V.	321 Avenue du Roi Albert, Shanghai	1919
Dickson, A. L.	Yee Tsoong Tobacco Distributors, Ltd., 175 Soochow Road, Shanghai	1933
Diemer, Miss C.	Editorial Dept., Reuter's News Agency, 4 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai	1935
Dingle, Edwin J.	5455 Buena Vista Avenue, Rockbridge, Oakland, California, U.S.A.	1917
Dobrovolsky, S.	House 17, Pass. 6, Lorton Terrace, Shanghai	1935
Donald, William H.	Office of Pacification Commissioner, P.O. Box. No. 68, Hankow	1911
Donnelly, Ivon A.	Taku Tug and Lighter Co., Tientsin	1923
Doodha, N. B.	129 Rue Vallon, Shanghai	1935
Dorrance, A. A.	Standard Vacuum Oil Co., Shanghai	1934
Douthirt, Mrs. J. B.	Apt. 17D, 65 West Fifty-fourth St., New York, U.S.A.	1934
Drake, Rev. F. S., B.A., B.D.	Cheeloo School of Theology, Tsinanfu, Shantung	1930
*Drake, Noah F.	Fayetteville, Arkansas, U.S.A.	1928
Duncan, A. McL.	C. M. Customs, Shanghai	1922
Dunlap, Mrs. A. M.	166 Route Dufour, Shanghai	1938
Dunn, Dr. T. B., M.D.	51 Canton Road, Shanghai	1935
*Duyvendak, Prof. Dr. J. J. L.	Sinologisch Instituut, Leiden, Rapenburg 71, Holland	1915
Dzau, Ponchen L. E.	Hamilton House, 170 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1933
Ecke, Dr. Gustav	Catholic University, Peiping	1934
Edmondston, David C.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank Corp., Hongkong	1917
Eisler, Capt. W. I.	Eisler, Reeves & Murphy, 51 Canton Road, Shanghai	1935
Elahi, M. Fazal	43 Kungping Terrace, Shanghai	1933
Ely, Prof. John A.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1917
Ely, Mrs. J. A.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1917
Emanoff, N. N.	Messrs. Davies, Brooke & Gran, Shanghai	1933
Emms, A.	Lester Technical Institute, 505 East Seward Road, Shanghai	1935

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Name	Address	Year of Election
Enders, Mrs. Gorden E.	c/o Duncan & Mount, 27 William St., New York City, U.S.A.	1922
Engel, Max. M.	Newmilks Ltd., 60 Nanjing Road, Shanghai.	1911
*Eriksen, A. H.	Chinese Maritime Customs, Shanghai.	1915
Ermiloff, P.	c/o Messrs. Knipschildt & Eskelund, 220 Szechuan Road, Shanghai	1935
Eskelund, A. H.	Salem, Massachusetts	1931
Essex Institute, Librarian	73 Nanking Road, Shanghai	1906
Evan-Jones, Dr. E.	Evans & Sons, 200 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1932
Evans, Joseph J.	National City Bank Building, 45 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1916
Ezra, Moise		1935
Fairburn, H. J.	Bridge House Hotel, Nanking	1933
Falck, Miss Elizabeth H.	St. Luke's Hospital, Shanghai	1935
Fan, Gilbert T. B.		1933
*Farley, Prof. M. F.	Fukien Christian University, Foochow.	1924
Feeham, Hon. Mr. Justice, C.M.G.	Judge's Chambers New Law Court, Johannesburg, S. Africa	1930
*Fearn, Dr. Anne Walter	U. S. Consulate General, Shanghai	1911
Ferguson, Capt. D.	Pilots' Association, 24 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai	1932
Feldman, M. M.	Commercial Investment Co., 398 Kiang-see Road, Shanghai	1935
Ferrajolo, Capt. R.	Italian Legation, Nanking	1920
Filsinger, E.	Filsinger (China) Co., Shanghai	1935
Fischer, Emil S.	15 Ex. Austrian Bund, Tientsin	1894
Fitch, Rev. George A.	Y.M.C.A., 150 Bubbling Well Road, Shanghai	1921
Flemons, Sidney	Fokien Road Exchange, Shanghai Telephone Co., Shanghai	1917
Forbes, Miss M.	Pacific American Airways, 507 Dollar Bldg., 51 Canton Road, Shanghai . .	1934
Forde, F. H.	Glen Line Eastern Agencies, 2 Peking Road, Shanghai	1935
Franck, G. M., F.R.G.S.	British & Foreign Bible Society, Chengtu	1922
Franklin, C. S.	Franklin & Harrington, 149 Yuen-ming-yuen Road, Shanghai	1935
Fredet, J.	Chambre de Commerce Française de Changhai, Shanghai	1922
Freeman, F. R.	Asia Life Insurance Co., 17 The Bund, Shanghai	1932
Freeman, M.	c/o P. O. Box No. 1013, Shanghai	1925
Freise, Ignaz A. C. J.	Swan, Culbertson & Fritz, Shanghai	1932
Fritz, Mrs. Bordine S.	Barlow & Co., 2 Peking Road, Shanghai	1933
Fryer, C. H.	290 Hungjao Road, Shanghai	1935
Fryer, George B.		1901

Name	Address	Year of Election
Gabbott, F. R.	Messrs. Gabbott & Co., 3 Rue Laguerre, Shanghai	1929
Gale, Esson M., M.A., PH.D.	Salt Revenue Administration, 18 The Bund, Shanghai	1911
Galt, Rev. E. W.	1217 Park Street, Grinnell, Iowa, U.S.A.	1924
*Gamble, Sidney D.	347 Madison Avenue, New York, U.S.A.	1922
*Garritt, Rev. J. C.		1907
Garrod, S. H.	Canadian Pacific S. S. Co., Hongkong	
*Gates, Miss J.	Library of Congress, Division of Orientalia, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.	1931
Gaunt, Percy	Chief Sanitation Chemist, S.M.C., Shanghai	
Gaunt, Rev. T., M.A.	Theological School, Wumiao, Nanking	1921
Gawler, G. N.	C. M. Customs, Swatow	1935
Gerharz, J. W. F.	c/o Light Office, Marine Dept., Chinese Maritime Customs, Amoy	1921
*Gerken, Chas.		
*Germain, T. C.	Chinese Maritime Customs, Shanghai.	1934
Cest Chinese Research Library, The	McGill University, Montreal, Canada	1922
Gibb, Mrs. J. McGregor	538 Avenue Haig, Shanghai	1934
Gibson, H. E.	c/o Robt. Dollar Co., Shanghai	1935
Gilliam, J.	Messrs. A. Lapato Sons, Ltd., Harbin	1915
Gillis, Captain L. V.	American Legation, Peiping	1915
Givens, T. P.	S. M. Police, Headquarters, Shanghai	1935
Goddard, W. G.	Box 1954, G.P.O., Melbourne, Australia	1911
Glathe, A.	Glathe & Witt, 410 Szechuan Road, Shanghai	1929
*Goodrich, Dr. L. C.	206 Low Library, Dept. of Chinese, Columbia University, New York, U.S.A.	1933
Goullart, P.	The American Express Co., Inc., 15 Kiukiang Road, (P.O. Box 1145)	1933
Graffenried, E. de	Swiss Consulate, 1469 Ave. Joffre, Shanghai	1935
Graham, David C., M.A., PH.D.	West China Union University, Chengtu	1930
Gran, E. M.	Messrs. Davies, Brook & Gran, 81 Jinkee Road Shanghai	1924
Grant, Dr. J.	Rockefeller Foundation c/o Hamilton House, Shanghai	1935
Graves, Rt. Rev. F. R., D.D.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1930
Graves, Miss Lucy J.	St. Mary's Hall, Shanghai	1918
Green, Mrs. D. Lyman	North China Daily News, Shanghai	1935
Grimmo, A. E. P.	Public Health Dept., S.M.C., Shanghai	1929
*Grodtmann, Johans	China Export-Import & Banking Co., A.G., 15 Glockengisserwall, Hamburg, Germany	1924
*Groenman, F. E. H.	Netherlands Legation, Caracas, Venezuela	1898
Grosbois, Ch., M.A.	Collège Municipale Française, 11 Route Vallon, Shanghai	1922
*Grove, H. Dawson	1 Richmond Hill Monkstown Co., Dublin, Irish Free State	1934

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Name	Address	Year of Election
Gull, E. Manico	China Association, 99 Cannon St., London	1915
*Gunzburg, Baron G. de	209 Rte. Winling, Shanghai	1908
Gutt, C. J.	40 Holly Heath, Off Hungiao Road, Shanghai	1928
Gwynne, Thomas	Wardown House, Nr. Petersfield, Hants, England	1913
Gyles, Paymaster Rear-Admiral H. A.	Room 811, 368 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1919
Ha, Harris	The College of Wooster, 614 E. University St., Wooster, Ohio, U.S.A.	1935
*Hackmann, H.	Japanese Residents' Corp., 128 Quinsan Road, Shanghai	1903
Hail, Rev. W. J., PH.D.	Centaur, Lake Forests, Illinois, U.S.A.	1922
Hamano, Makoto	St. John's University, Shanghai	1935
Hamill, Alfred E.	Kailan Mining Administration, Shanghai	1934
Han, Dr. Y. S.	Zak-kow, Hangchow, Chekiang	1935
Handley-Derry, L.	Shanghai University, Yangtsepoo, Shanghai	1914
*Hangchow Christian College, Library	British Consulate, Yunnanfu	1924
Hanson, Mrs. Victor	618 N. Broadway, Lexington, Ky., U.S.A.	1933
*Harding, H. I.	Public Works Dept. S.M.C., Shanghai	1912
Hardy, Dr. W. M.	Lecturer in Oriental Art and Culture, University of California, 400 Post Street, San Francisco, Cal., U.S.A.	1901
Harpur, C.	Krauch & Co., Foochow, Fukien	1924
Hart, Henry H., A.B., J.D.	Messrs. Connell Bros. Co., 3 Canton Road, Shanghai	1934
Hartl, Joseph	59 Peking Road, Shanghai	1931
Hartman, B. A.	Yale-in-China Office, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.	1931
Hartopp, E. L.	Japanese Commercial School, (Nippon Shogyo Gakko), Shanghai	1924
Harvey, Rev. E. D.	P.O. Box 628, Manila, Philippine Islands	1935
Haven,	P.O. Box 628, Manila, Philippine Islands	1935
Hatano Y.	c/o North China Daily News, Shanghai	1931
Haughwout, F. G.	179 University Avenue, Providence, R.I., U.S.A.	1924
Haughwout, Mrs. F. G.	Ewo Building, 27 The Bund, Shanghai	1924
*Haward, Edwin	Ewo Building, 27 The Bund, Shanghai	1928
Hayes, L. Newton	Southern Cross Co., Room 51, 3rd Fl., 451 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1930
*Hayim, A. J.	c/o Messrs. Heacock & Cheek, S'hai Education Dept., S.M.C. Shanghai	1921
*Hayim, Ellis	H.B.M. Consulate General, Shanghai	1913
Hayward, Capt. J. L.	Cheeloo University, Tsinan, Shantung	1933
Heacock, Mrs. H. E.		1915
Healey, Leonard C.		
Heaney, R. S.		
Heeren, Rev. J. J., PH.D.		

Name	Address	Year of Election
Heidenstam, H. von	Hogvalla, Vadsbro, near Stockholm, Sweden	1916
Heine, Miss A. de J.	United States Court for China, Shanghai	1931
Helmick, Judge Milton J.	A. P. Co., Mukden, Manchuria	1922
Hemingway, B.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Shanghai	1929
Henchman, A. S.	643 William Street, Meadville, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.	1912
Henke, Frederick G., PH.D.	Lingnan University, Canton	1922
Henry, J. M.	1320 Avenue Road, Shanghai	1933
*Henry Lester Institute of Medical Research	228 Furuyashiki, Ashiya, Hyogo Ken, Japan	1931
*Hepner, Rev. C. W., B.D., M.A., D.D., PH.D.	Association Amicale Sino-Belge, Secretariat-Shanghai, (P.O. Box 501), Shanghai	1907
Hers, Joseph	16 Central Road, Shanghai	1922
Hickling, N. W.	8A Albrechstr., Lichterfeld-Berlin, Germany	1907
*Hilderbrandt, Adolf	c/o Phoenix Insurance Co., 59 Peking Road, Shanghai	1928
Hind, H. M.	Shanghai Municipal Council, Shanghai Public Health Dept., S.M.C., Shanghai	1930
Hinder, Miss E. M.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, London	1934
Hindson, C. L.	The Secretariat, S.M.C., Shanghai	1976
*Hippisley, A. E.	3031 Sedgwith St. N.W., Washington, D.C., U.S.A.	1935
Ho, T. K., M.B.A.	The Hartford Seminary Foundation, 92 Sherman Street, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.	1913
Hobart, Mrs. A. T.	Union Brewery, 220 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1932
*Hodous, Rev. L.	5068 Washington Ave., St. Louis, Miss., U.S.A.	1935
Hoehnke, F.	"Gorgoyl," Richlandtown, Pa., U.S.A. (Director, Mercer Expedition for Historical Research in the Far East, Fouthill, Doylestown, Pa., U.S.A.)	1927
Holt, Dr. I. L.	Agfa China Co., c/o Otto & Co., 261 Szechuen Road, (P.O. Box No. 1819) Shanghai	1933
Hommel, R. P.	17 Lucerne Road, Shanghai	1933
Hone, Herman	c/o Colonel I. Moller, The Hosken Trading Co., 133 Yuen-ming-yuen Road, Shanghai	1935
Hopkins, Paul S.	Lester Institute, 1320 Avenue Road, Shanghai	1935
Hosken, Mrs. Wm. H.	433 Avenue Haig, Apt. 5B., Shanghai	1935
*Hou, Dr. Hsiang-ch'uan	433 Avenue Haig, Apt. 5B., Shanghai	1935
Hough, Frank L.	c/o Jean Lindsay, 22 Nanking Road, Shanghai	1932
Hough, Mrs. F. L.		
Howard, Mrs. A. E. N.		

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Name	Address	Year of Election
Howells, R. M.	S.M.C. Health Dept., Shanghai . . .	1928
Hoyt, Mrs. Lansing	349 Amherst Ave., Shanghai	1935
Hsia, Dr. Ching-ling	c/o Mr. W. T. H. Hsia, 839 Connaught Road, Shanghai	1925
*Hsu, Sing-loh	National Commercial Bank, Shanghai . .	1932
Hu Shih, B.A., PH.D.	4 Mi Liang Ku, Peiping.	1928
Hu, Stephen M. K.	Henry Lester Institute, 1320 Avenue Road, Shanghai	1935
Hubbard, G. E.	Chatham House, St. James, London, S.W. 1, England	1932
Hubbard, Rev. H. W.	American Board Mission, Paotungfu . .	1924
Hughes, A. J.	China United Assurance Society, Shai c/o Henry Hughes & Son, 59 Fenchurch Street, London, E.C. 3, England	1909
Hughes, Rev. E. R.	Asiatic Petroleum Co., Tsinanfu . . .	1929
Hughes, W. E.	Chinese Red Cross Hospital, 373 Avenue Haig, Shanghai	1921
Hume, E. H., M.D.	c/o Library of Congress, Division of Orientalia, Washington, D.C., U.S.A. .	1919
*Hummel, A. W., PH.D.	Angus & Co., 320 Szechuan Road, Shanghai	1933
*Huntington, E. R.	c/o Messrs. J. D. Hutchison & Co., 280 Peking Road, Shanghai . . .	1926
Hutchison, D. C.	National Central University, Nanking .	1935
Hwang, Prof. K. C.	Pitmudie, Rubislaw Den South, Aberdeén, Scotland	1913
Hynd, R. R.		
India Office, Superintendent . . .	Telegraphs and Mails Branch, Whitehall, London, S.W. 1	1935
Institute of Chinese Cultural Studies	University of Nanking, Tao Yuen Compound, Kan Ho Yen, Nanking . .	1931
Inui, Kiyo Sue, LL.D.	Imp. Japanese Legation, Shanghai . .	1933
Irvine, Miss Elizabeth	464 Rue Lafayette, Shanghai	1910
Jacobsen, Axel	Flat 416, 40 Ningpo Road, Shanghai .	1933
Jaffry, Capt. Paul	c/o The "Tahure," French Navy, Shanghai	1934
Jager, A. G. de	Philips (China) Co., Shanghai	1935
Jaspar, M. A.	French Consulate-General, Shanghai . .	1933
Javrotsky, J.	Chinese Maritime Customs, Shanghai . .	1934
Johnson, Hon. N. T.	American Legation, Peiping	1912
Johnson, O. S., PH.D.	c/o Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana, U.S.A.	1927
Johnson, Miss Lydia	Y.W.C.A., Wuchang.	1935
Johnston, Sir R.F., K.C.M.G., C.B.E.	Eilean Righ, Kilmartin, Argyll, Scotland	1907
Johnstone, Mrs. K. W.	12 Fo Shu Gardens, Tunsin Road, Shanghai	1935
Jolly, J. Keith	Butterfield & Swire, Shanghai	1935

Name	Address	Year of Election
Joly, P. B.	Kiungchow Customs, Hochow, Hainan	1913
Jones, J. R., M.A.	The Secretariat, S.M.C., Shanghai . . .	1924
Jong, Th. de J.	Netherlands Legation, Peiping	1914
Jordan, Dr. J. H., M.A.	Health Office, S.M.C. Shanghai	1922
Josefsen-Bernier, S.	c/o Capt. Josefson, Shanghai Tug & Lighter Co., 2 French Bund, Shanghai	
*Joseph, Ellis	Joseph Bros., 12 The Bund, Shanghai	1935
*Joseph, R. M.	Joseph Bros., 12 The Bund, Shanghai	1935
*Joseph, S. M.	c/o Cathay Hotel, Shanghai	1920
*Jost, A.	Charles Rudolf & Co., Zurich, Switzerland	1912
Justesen, M. L.	Anglo-Danish Shipping Co., 8 Quai de France, Shanghai	1913
*Kadoorie, Horace	c/o Sir Elly Kadoorie, 259 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1935
Kann, E.	941 Avenue Foch, Shanghai	1929
Karlbeck, O.	Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, Sweden	1914
Karlgren, Dr. B.	Goteborgs Hogskola, Goteborg, Sweden	1922
Keaney, Dr. F. P.	Apt. 615, Cathay Mansions, Shanghai	1933
Keen, Mrs. E.	New York Herald Tribune, Far Eastern Bureau, 34 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai	
Keen, R. D.	Public School for Boys, Shanghai	1935
Keeton, G. W., B.A., LL.B.	Victor University, Manchester	1926
Kellner, E. G.	750 Hart Road, House No. 1, Shanghai	1935
Kellogg, C. R.	Massachusetts State College, Amherst, Mass., U.S.A.	1919
Kelsey, H. F.	China Deep Well Drilling Co. 118 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1935
Kent, A. S.	c/o B.A.T. Co., Shanghai	1913
Khaw, Dr. O. K.	Peking Union Medical College, Peiping	1935
Ki Chun	Commercial Investment Co., 398 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1935
*Kilborn Dr. L. G.	West China Union University, Chengtu Chengtu	1934
Kimura, Dr. K.	8 Florence Road, Ealing, London W. 5	1909
Kilner, E.	Shanghai Science Institute, 320 Route Ghisi, Shanghai	1935
Kimura, Dr. Shigerun	Shanghai Science Institute, 320 Route Ghisi, Shanghai	1935
King, Cheyuen Foon	Lane 340, 5 Avenue Road, Shanghai	1935
*King Chien Kun	104 Bubbling Well Road, Shanghai	1932
King, Mrs. D. K.	Nevada State Journal, Reno, Nevada, U.S.A.	
King, Prof. Harrison	St. John's University, Jessfield	1930
*King, Louis M.	1927	
*King, Sohtsu G.	1911	
*Klautke, Rektor Paul	11 Kaka Hutung, Peiping	1924
	Stettin 10, Hebbiweg 16, Germany	1924

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Name	Address	Year of Election
*Kliene, Charles	Director of Chinese Studies and Translation Office, S.M.C., Shanghai	1916
Klubien, J.	Ch. M. Customs, Nanking	1913
Kobelt, A.	Ch. Rudolph & Co., 58 Hongkong Road, Shanghai	1935
Komiya, Yoshitaka	Shanghai Science Institute, 320 Route Ghisi, Shanghai	1935
Kops, Paul F.	Aliman & Co., 206 Hamilton House, Shanghai	1935
*Kotenev, A. M.	The Secretariat, S.M.C., Shanghai	1924
Kozoolin, P. J.	Chinese Studies and Translation Office, S.M.C., Shanghai	1935
*Krisel, A.	142 Museum Road, Shanghai	1914
Krynski, Dr. J.	21 Route Pottier, Shanghai	1934
Krueger, Pastor E.	1 Great Western Road, Shanghai	1930
Kuck, Fritz W.	c/o Kaiser Wilhelm Schule, 1 Great Western Road, Shanghai	1930
Kuhn, Karl	Deutsche Farben H.-G., 261 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1935
*Kunisawa Shimbei	270 Hyakunin-cho, Ohkubo, Tokyo	1917
Kuo, C. C.	Chung-Hwa Studio, 349 Kwangse Road, Shanghai	1932
Kuo Ping-wen, Dr.	Shanghai Trust Co., corner of Szechuen and Peking Roads, Shanghai	1932
Kwang Hsih, His Lordship		1934
Kwauk, S. Z.	Shanghai Benevolent Industrial Institute, 397 Kiaochoow Road, Shanghai	1932
*Kwauk, Z. U.	638A Av. Haig, Shanghai	1931
Kwei, S. Shun	History Compilation Bureau of Greater Shanghai, 291 Rue Chapsal, Shanghai	1934
Kwong, Edward Y. K.	182 Rue Magniny, Shanghai	1932
Lachlan, Miss A.	c/o Westminster Bank, Old Street Branch, City Rond, London	1923
Lamansky, V. V.	471 Rue Cardinal Mercier, Shanghai	1932
Lambelet, A. R. A.	Savoy Apts. No. 32, 133 Route de Say Zoung, Shanghai	1933
Lambert, Henri	Société Belge de Chemins de fer en Chine, 150 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1929
Lamson, H. D.	Apt. 8 No. 11 Everett St., Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.	1932
*Latourette, Prof. K. S.	The Yale Divinity School, 409 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.	1912
*Laver, Capt. H. E.	375 Seymour Road, Shanghai	1912
Leamer, Dr. Bruce V.	Harvard Business School, Soldiers Field, Station, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.	1935
*Leavens, D. H.	79 Howe St., New Haven, Conn. U.S.A. C.M.S., Mienchuhien, Sze.	1917 1901 1929 1933
*Leavenworth, Chas. S.	University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii	
Lechler, J. H., M.D.		
Lee, Prof. Shao-chang		

Name	Address	Year of Election
Lee, William Yinson	The Tai Ping Insurance Co., 212 Kiangse Road, (P.O. Box 906) Shanghai	1933
Lee, Dr. Y. Y.	National Research Institute of Geology, Nanking	1935
Leete, Rev. Wm.	The Kuling American School, Kuling, Kiangse	1918
Lefever, R. H.	Seneca Castle, N.Y., U.S.A.	1924
Leith, A. C.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Shanghai	1935
Lenhart, Miss L. E.	St. Andrew's Hospital, c/o American Church Mission, Wusih	1928
Lenz, Dr. G. Jahn	Elmers Glen, Salfords, Redhill, Surrey, England	1934
*Leslie, T.	2807 Conn. Ave., Apt. 305, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.	1914
Lester, Miss E. S.		1919
Levi-Schiff di Suvero, Commdr. Vittorio	1964 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai	1935
*Levy, S. E.	113 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1935
Lewis, J.	S.M.C. Health Dept., Shanghai	1932
Lewis, Robert E.	Suite 4, 10A Route Winling, Shanghai	1935
Lim Boon Kong, Dr.	University of Amoy, Amoy	1930
*Li Ming	Chekiang Industrial Bank, 159 Hankow Road, Shanghai	1932
Liddell, Mrs. John	578 Hungjao Road, Shanghai	1934
Lieu, Lindsay	Salt Revenue Administration, 18 The Bund, Shanghai	1935
Lillico, Stuart	The China Journal, 20 Museum Road, Shanghai	1934
Linde, Mrs. A. M. de	Remington Typing School, 210 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1922
*Lindsay, Dr. Ashley W.	5727 Cote St. Antoine Road, Montreal, Que., Canada	1930
Ling, C. P.	China Commercial Adv. Agency, 2 Hongkong Road, Shanghai	1932
Ling, Dr. D. G.	1355 Yü Yuen Road, House 22, S'hai 9 Crescent Avenue, Yü Yuen Road, Shanghai	1935
*Little, Edward S.	Commissioner of Customs, Canton	1931
Little, L. K.	14 Chinghai Road, Shanghai	1935
*Liu, H. S.	China Institute of Pacific Relations, Chinese Y.M.C.A. Building, Shanghai	1935
Liu, Yu-wen	c/o Mrs. Grant, Peiping	1930
Lloyd, Mrs. Magdalene	National Christian Council, Missions Building, Shanghai	1935
Lobenstine, Rev. E. C.	400 Avenue Haig, Shanghai	1923
Lockhart, Mrs. Joana K.	202 Route de Say Zoon, Shanghai	1913
Lockwood, W. W.	240 Rue Vallon, Shanghai	1935
Loewenberg, Dr. R. D.	Netherlands Trading Society, Sassoon House, Shanghai	1934
Lonsain, A. J. R.	Anglican Mission, Yenchow, Shantung	1918
Lord, Rev. R. D.	Swiss Consulate-General, Shanghai	1935
Louis, Jacot-Guillarmod		

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Name	Address	Year of Election
Low, Dr. C. W.	China United Assoc. Society, Shanghai	1932
Lucas, S. E.	Bank of China, Palmerston House, 34 Old Broad Street, London, E.C. 2 . . .	1906
Lunkley, Mr. R. E.	Otis Elevator Co., Rooms 206-8, Sassoon House, Shanghai	1935
*Luthy, Charles	C. Luthy & Co., 22 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1910
*Luthy, Emil	House 2, Lane 750, Hart Road, Shanghai	1917
*Ly, Dr. J. Usang	Chiao Tung University, Shanghai	1932
*Lyall, Leonard A.	Queen Anne's Mansions, flat 5 Centre, London, S.W. 1, England	1892
*Lyon, Rev. D. Willard, D.D.	220 West Twelfth Street, Claremont, Calif., U.S.A.	1927
Ma, Dr. Y. C.	1954 Avenue Haig, Shanghai	1933
Mabee, Fred C.	152 Madison Ave, New York, U.S.A.	1912
Macbeth, Miss A.	Court 32, House 9, Edinburgh Road, Shanghai	1915
*MacNair, H. F., PH.D.	University of Chicago, Chicago, U.S.A.	1920
Maginnis, A. F. L.	China Navigation Co., Shanghai	1932
Magle, Hans	Allegade 55, Odense, Denmark	1932
Maher, Joseph	Buttersfield & Swire, Shanghai	1930
Maitland, H.	Room 303, Hongkong & Shanghai Bank Building, Shanghai	1929
*Mamet, O.	2 Av. Général Leman, Assebrouck (les Bruges), Belgium	1922
Mar, Dr. Peter	Henry Lester Institute, 1320 Avenue Road, Shanghai	1935
*Marsh, Dr. E. L.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank Building, Shanghai	1908
Marshall, R. Calder	2 Peking Road, Shanghai	1908
Martilliére, Dr.	215 Sassoon House, 1 Nanking Road, Shanghai	1930
Martin, Hugh	Room 255, 12 The Bund, Shanghai	1932
Martin, Mrs. W. A.	Bridge House Hotel, Nanking	1916
Martinella, A.	8 Italian Bund, Tientsin	1921
Masson, J. R.	Buttersfield & Swire, Shanghai	1935
Mather, Wm. A.	American Presby. Mission, Tsingyuan, Faotingfu, Hopei	1926
Mathieson, Rev. J. C.	Canadian Mission, Hwai King, Ho	1929
Matsumoto, S.	Rengo News Agency, 34 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai	1935
Maughan, J. R., A.R.I.B.A.	Messrs. Lester, Johnson & Morris, 1 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1934
Maxwell, Dr. J. L.	Lester Research Laboratory, 1320 Ave- nue Road, Shanghai	1931
McBain, E.	George McBain & Co., Shanghai	1934
McCarthy, G. J.	Dollar Steamship Line, 51 Canton Road, Shanghai	1935
McClure, Prof. F. A., PH.D.	Lingnan University, Canton	1935
McDaniel, C. Yates	12 Da Tong Hsiang, Nanking	1930
McDonald, Ranald G.	203 to 206 Missions Bldg., Shanghai	1920

Name	Address	Year of Election
McEuen, K. J.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Nagasaki, Japan	1908
McHugh, Capt. J. M., U.S.M.C.	U.S. Marines, Quantico, Va., U.S.A.	1935
McIntosh, Miss E. W.	St. John's Convent, 28 Major St. Toronto, Ontario, Canada	1923
McLean, W. A.	The first National Bank, Auburn, Wash., U.S.A.	1925
McLorn, D.	Postal Bank, 53 Foochow Road, Shanghai	1935
McLaughlin, Rev. Wallace H.	1215 Seltzer Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.	1931
*McMillen, O. W.	24 Sindell Avenue, Fayetteville, Arkansas, U.S.A.	1923
McNeely, Miss M. V.	Kwang Hsueh Publishing House, 140 Peking Road, Shanghai	1928
McNulty, Rev. Henry A.	American Church Mission, Soochow	1918
McRae, J. D.	China Navigation Co., Shanghai	1910
Mead, E. W.	University, Manchester, England.	1916
Meinhardt, Mrs. C. D.	U.S. Consulate General, Shanghai	1928
*Meister, O., C.E., M.E.	c/o Sulzer Bros., 34 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai	1922
*Melnikoff, D. M.	Flat No. 3, Second floor, Asiatic Trading Corp. Bldg., S.A.D., No. 2, Hankow	1919
Mencarini, J.	c/o P.O. Box 795, Manila, P.I.	1884
*Mendelsen, Major Joseph A., M.C.	American Barracks, Tientsin	1933
Meng, C. Y. W.	194 Feng Fu Road, Nanking	1925
Meng, Prof. Hsien-chen	7 Hsiao Chang Kow, Soochow	1935
Mennie, D.	A. S. Watson & Co., Shanghai	1916
Menzies, Rev. J. M.	Chinese Research Institute, Shantung Christian University, Tsinan, Shantung	1914
*Merian, Hans	Multenweg 21, Binningen, near Basle, Switzerland	1921
Mesny, H. P.	59 Wington Terrace, YC 32 Darroch Road, Shanghai	1911
*Meyer, H. Fuge	Strandboulevarden 6, Copenhagen, Denmark	1929
Miau Way-kaung, M.D.	Pathological Laboratory S.M.C., Shanghai	1935
Middleton, W. B. O.	Middleton & Co., Ltd., 2 Canton Road, Shanghai	1930
Millican, F. R.	Christian Literature Society for China, 128 Museum Road, Shanghai	1935
Mills, E. W.	H.B.M. Consulate, Swatow	1920
Mironoff, Prof. N. D.	17 Yurimachi, Hoshigaura, Dairen	1924
Mogabgab, A.	Saydah & Saydah, 330 Szechuen Road (P.O. Box 618), Shanghai	1932
Mohrbacher, Rev. Father C. M.	Catholic Mission, Yenchowfu, Shantung	1927
*Moncrieff, J. E.	West China Union University, Chengtu, Szechuen	1934
Moorad, George	The Shanghai Times, Shanghai	1913
*Moore, Dr. A.	The Shanghai Times, Shanghai	1935
Morley, A.	The Shanghai Times, Shanghai	

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Name	Address	Year of Election
Morriess, Gordon	Messrs. Lester, Johnson, & Morriess, Shanghai	1933
*Morriess, Harry	118 Rue Père Robert, Shanghai	1932
Morris, Dr. H. H.	St. Luke's Hospital, Shanghai	1909
*Morse, Mrs. C. J.	1825 Asbury Avenue, Evanston, Illinois	1919
*Morse W. R., M.D., F.R.G.S.	West China Union University, Chengtu, Szechuan	1930
Mortensen, Rev. Ralph	23 Liang Yi Street, Hankow	1920
Moses, Mrs. A. E.	422 Avenue Haig, Shanghai	1931
*Mossop, A. G.	5 Kinnear Road, Shanghai	1925
Munn, Rev. Wm.	The Vicarage, Dunston, Lincoln, England	1922
Munro-Faure, P. H.	c/o Asiatic Petroleum Co., Shanghai	1921
Münster, L. S.	c/o "Rödbjerghavn" per HUMBLE, Langeland, Denmark	1910
*Munthe, Mrs. Alexander E.	Banna Boo, Farnham Common Bucks., England	1921
*Murphy, H. K., A.I.A.		1932
Murray, C. P.		1930
Musso, G. D.	Rome, via Piedmonte 45.. . . .	1924
Nakayama, Shozen	Tambaichi-machi, Nara Prefect., Japan	1931
Nance, Prof. W. B.	Soochow University, Soochow	1922
Nash, E. T.	The Secretariat, S.M.C., Shanghai	1929
Nathan, Major W. S.	Peking Syndicate, London	1932
Natherst, Miss Ruth G.	Church of Sweden Mission, Changsha, Hunan	1934
Nethery, Dr. Wm. M.,	Seventh Day Adventist Mission, Mukden, Manchuria	1933
Newell, Mrs. Isaac	3 Ta Hsueh T'ang Cha Tao, Ching Shan Tung Chieh, Peiping	1935
Newman, A. L.	Ch. Customs Service, 21 Hart Road, Shanghai	1933
Newman, Kenneth	59 Peking Road, Shanghai	1921
*Nielsen, Albert	c/o Dr. Jack Nielsen, Maridalseren 3, Oslo, Norway	1894
Nimitz, Capt. C. W.	c/o Navy Department, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.	1935
Norman, H. C.	c/o Miss Norman, 23 Queen's Road, Tunbridge Wells, Kent, England ..	1912
Norton, J. R.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1928
Nutter, Mrs. Florence	Associated Merchandise Corp., 19 Kiu-kiang Road, Shanghai	1934
Nyholm, F.	567 Hungjao Road, Shanghai	1935
Nystrom, Dr. E. T.	13 Kwei Chia Chang, Peiping	1920
*Oakes, Rev. W. Longden	c/o M. M. S., 24 Bishopsgate, London, E.C. 2	1919
O' Bolger, R. E.	The Eastman Kodak Co., 185 Yuen-mingyuen Road, Shanghai	1935

Name	Address	Year of Election
*O'Brien-Butler, P. E.	"Bansha," Plat Douet Road, Jersey, C.I.	1886
Odaki, F.	Tung Wen College, Shanghai.	1930
Oliver, A. W. L.	Custom Service, Hart Road, Shanghai	1924
Olsen, F. A.	Putoo Police Station, Gordon Road, Shanghai	1932
Onley, Rev. F. G.	General Secretary, Religious Tract Society, Hankow	1934
Osborne, Mrs. Katherine	81 Dt. Stephen Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.	1934
Ouskouli, M. H. A.	451 Kiangse Road (P.O. Box 551), Shanghai	1917
Owens, A. C.	Wen Hwei Boys School, Am. Presby. Mission, Tengchow, Shantung	1929
*Paddeck, Rev. B. H.	107 Cornelia Ave., Mill Valley, Cal., U.S.A.	1916
Pai, Dr. Sitsan	Chekian University, Hangchow	1935
Pain, J. C.	Asiatic Petroleum Co., Hankow	1932
Parson, Desmond	Ts'u Hua Hutung 8, Peiping	1934
Parsons, E. E.	c/o Holy Trinity Cathedral, 219 Kiang Road, Shanghai.	1916
*Paterson, J. J.	Jardine, Matheson & Co., Hongkong	1922
Patrick, Dr. H. C.	22 Whangpoo Road, Shanghai	1912
*Patton, Rev. C. E., M.A., D.D.	Room 519, 169 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai	1924
Payne, Mrs. Harry F.	American Bank Note Co., Room 205, 12 The Bund, Shanghai	1933
Pearson, C. Dearne	484 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1908
Peck, Mrs. Willys R.	American Consulate General, Nanking	1933
Peek, S. H.	International Assurance Co., 17 The Bund, Shanghai	1933
Peffer, Nathaniel	Asia Magazine, New York, U.S.A.	1918
*Peiyang University Librarian.	Tientsin	1911
Penfold, F. G.	2 Peking Road, Shanghai	1916
Pennett, C. W.	Henley's Telegraph Works, 133 Yuen-mingyuen Road, Shanghai	1932
Perkins, M. F.	c/o Dept. of State, Consular Bureau, Washington D.C.	1914
Perry, Harold G.	Standard-Vacuum Co., 94 Canton Rd., Shanghai.	1932
Person, K. A.	Associated Life Underwriters, 2 Canton Road, Shanghai	1935
Petersen, V.	c/o The Chinese Telegraph Administration, Peiping	1906
*Peterson, R. A., M.A.	Box 105 Lima, Ohio, U.S.A.	1924
*Pettus, Prof. W. B.	College of Chinese Studies, Peiping	1915
Pfanner Pierre	Ch. Rudolph & Co., 58 Hongkong Road, Shanghai	1935
*Phelps, D. L., PH.D.	West China Union University, Chengtu, Szechuan	1929

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Name	Address	Year of Election
Pickens, Rev. C. L.	American Church Mission, 83 Wu Fu Road, S.A.D. 1, Hankow	1981
Platt, B. S.	Clinical Unit, Lester Institute, 145 Shantung Road, Shanghai	1935
Plews, Mrs. J. C.	Lihue Kanai, Hawaii	1929
*Plumer, James M.	Appraising Dept., Chinese Maritime Customs, Shanghai	1931
Poate, F. W.	Mackenzie & Co., Shanghai	1928
Polevoy, S. A.	4A Hsi Ch'iao Hutung, Peiping	1917
Pollard, Robert T., M.A.	Dept. of Oriental Studies, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash., U.S.A.	1924
Porter, A. R.	Confederation Life Asson., 51 Canton Road, Shanghai	1935
Porter, Mrs. C. W.	Flat 31, 9 Rue Kaufmann, Shanghai	1935
*Porter, J. V.	Chinese Maritime Customs, Shanghai	1935
Porter, Harold, C.M.G.	17 The Bund, Shanghai	1930
Porter, Prof. Lucius C.	Yenching University, Peiping	1933
Porterfield, W. M.	221 South Gill Street, State College, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.	1920
Pott, Mrs. F. L. Hawks	St. John's University, Shanghai	1932
Pott, James H.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1935
Poulsen, H. S.	Gt. Northern Telegraph Co., Shanghai	1935
Powell, J. B.	The China Weekly Review, 160 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai	1918
Pratt, J. T., C.M.G.	Foreign Office, London	1909
Pratt, Mr. F. L.	Editor, China Press, Shanghai	1935
Price, Dr. M. T.	c/o Prof. Leslie Hanawalt, 490 Robinson Avenue, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A.	1925
Prideaux-Brune, H. I.	British Consulate-General, Nanking	1914
Prip-Möller, J., F.I.A.	Ny Carlsberg Foundation, Dantes Plads, Copenhagen, Denmark	1929
Public Library, The	Newark, New Jersey, U.S.A.	1924
Puckle, Raymond D. A.	10 Arundel Gardens, Kensington, London, W. 11, England	1932
Raeburn, P. D.	Lane 611, House 7, Yü Yuen Road, Shanghai	1916
Rakusen, Dr. C. P.	Oculists' Institute Co., Ltd., Shanghai	1935
Ramondino, F.	Italian Consulate General, Shanghai	1922
Raven, F. J.	555 Hungjao Road, Shanghai	1933
Raven, Mrs. F. J.	555 Hungjao Road, Shanghai	1933
*Rea, Geo. Bronson	The Far Eastern Review, Shanghai	1931
Read, Dr. Bernard E.	Henry Lester Institute, Shanghai	1933
Read, H. H.	c/o Shanghai Club, Shanghai	1933
Reid, Miss S. H.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1935
Reis, E. O.	38 Bishoptsgate, London, E.C. 2	1926
Reiss, Dr. F.	England	1923
Ritchie, W. W.	Room 64, 142 Museum Road, Shanghai	1907
	Directorate General of Posts, Nanking	

Name	Address	Year of Election
Robert, A.	Société Belge de Chemins de fer en Chine, 150 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1930
*Roberts, Prof. D.	St. John's University, Shanghai . . .	1916
*Roberts, Mrs. F. M.	St. John's University, Shanghai . . .	1935
Robertson, E. S.	11 Manorcrofts Road, Egham, Surrey, England	1932
Robertson, Douglas	New York Times Office, 14 Route Wining, Shanghai	1933
Robertson, Dr. R. C.	Henry Lester Inst., Shanghai	1933
Rock, Dr. Joseph F.	28 Shichiao p'u, Yunnanfu, Yunnan .	1933
Roe, F. H.	Shanghai Land Investment Co., 100 Jinkee Road.	1935
Roecheisen, Dr. H.	Agfa China Co., 261 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1935
Rogers, J. M.	506 E. Lafayette St., Dothan, Ala., U.S.A.	1924
Röhreke, H.	Lane 1320, House 23, Yu Yuen Road, Shanghai	1935
Roots, Rt. Rev. L. H.	American Church Mission, Hankow .	1916
*Ros, Cav. G.	Italian Consulate, Shanghai	1931
Rotours, Robert des	2 Rue Joseph-Bertrand, Viroflay, France	1933
Roulston, Rev. W. A.	Weihwei, Honan	1931
*Rowe, E. S. Benbow	Shanghai Stock Exchange, Shanghai .	1907
*Rowe, O. S. Benbow	41 Rue du Consulat, Shanghai . . .	1933
Ruffé, M. D'Auxion de	Y.W.C.A., 133 Yuemingyuan Road, Shanghai	1930
*Russell, Miss Maud	Salt Revenue Inspectorate, Hangchow	1935
Ruxton, Lt. Col. R. M. C.		1934
Sabelstrom, G. B.	Union Brewery, 220 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1932
Sadwin, Mrs. A.	415 Rue Cardinal Mercier, Shanghai .	1935
*Saeki, Dr. P. Y.	164 Nishi Okubo, 3 Chome, Yodobashi Ku, Tokyo, Japan.	1931
Sakamoto, Prof. Y.	450 Dixwell Road, Shanghai	1927
Sandor, H.	12 Rue D'Arco, Shanghai	1922
*Santelli, Dr. R.	47 Rue de Sieyes, Shanghai	1935
*Sarkar, Prof. B. K.	c/o Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, 2431, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.	1915
*Sassoon, Sir Victor	c/o Sassoon House, Shanghai	1935
Sator, G.	Room 312, Museum Road, Shanghai, Kingsmead, Selly Oak, Birmingham .	1935
Sawdon, E. W.	454 Seymour Road, Shanghai	1916
Schneider, Sister M.	c/o Balatoc Mine, Baguio, Philippine Islands	1930
*Scholey, Mrs. G., Jr.	Villa Giovanna, Ponte Tresa, Switzerland	1935
*Schoch, J. E.	Yee Tsoong Tobacco Co., Account Dept., 175 Soochow Road, Shanghai	1924
*Schwarzl, M. G.	850 Rue Ratard, Shanghai	1929
Schwyzer, F.		1932

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Name	Address	Year of Election
*Scott, W.		1930
*Secker, F.	c/o Hotel du Nord, Peiping	1930
*Senger, Miss Nettie M.	Tsinchow Shansi	1923
Service, R. Roy	China International Famine Relief Commission, China State Bank Bldg., Room 601, 356 Peking Road, Shanghai	
Shahmoon, A. E.	113 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1924
Shahmoon, Ezra	Room 122, 45 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1935
*Shaw, Norman	Yarnells, Yarnells Hill, North Hinkley Oxford, England	1931
Sheppard, Rev. G. W.	British & Foreign Bible Society, S'hai Shanghai Science Institute, 320 Route Ghisi, Shanghai	1912
Shinjo, Dr. Shinzo	Shanghai	1923
Shioya, T.	Bank of Chosen, 50 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1935
Shiroi, J. A.	Shiroi Bros. (China) Ltd., 123 Canton Road, Shanghai	1922
Shirokogoroff, S. M.	Tsing Hua College, Peiping	1935
Shu, Dr. H. J.	20 Rue de Paris, Hankow	1921
Siegel, H. W.	Kunst & Albers, Hankow	1932
*Sirén, Prof. O.	National Museum, Stockholm, Sweden	1922
Skinner, Dr. A. H.	Hankow	1919
Skinner, T. V. S.	c/o Mustard & Co., Shanghai	1935
Skvortzow, B. W.	Harbin	1918
Smith, Ernest K.	Dept. of English, Yenching University, Peiping	1933
Smith, D. H.	English Methodist Mission, 33 Seymour Road, Tientsin	1935
Smith, Miss Viola	American Commercial Attache's Office, 51 Canton Road, Shanghai	1935
Smothers, Frank	5 Tongshan Court, 175 Tunsin Road, Shanghai	1934
Sokobin, S.	U.S. Consulate, Tsingtao	1934
Sokolsky, Geo. E.	302 West 12th Street, New York, U.S.A.	1924
Soong, Dr. T. F.	c/o Shanghai Commercial & Savings Bank, Shanghai	1935
*South Manchuria Railway Co., Library	Dairen	1910
Southcott, Mrs. V. C.	c/o Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, 9 Gracechurch St., London, E.C. 3, England	1919
Sowerby, Arthur de C., F.R.G.S., F.Z.S.	The China Journal, 20 Museum Road, Shanghai	1916
Sparke, C. E.	Excess Insurance Co., Shanghai	1932
*Speelman, M.	International Savings Society, 9 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai	1935
Spencer, Joseph E.	Assist. Auditorate, Government Salt Revenue, Ichang, Hupeh	1932
Speyer, C. S.	Herbert Whitworth, Ltd., Rm. 302, 12 The Bund, Shanghai	1933
Spiker, Clarence J.	American Consulate-General, Canton	1918

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Name	Address	Year of Election
Squires, R. W.	Squires Bingham Ltd., 52 Nanking Road, Shanghai	1935
Stanford University Library	Stanford University, California, U.S.A.	1922
*Stedeford, Dr. E. T. A.	Wenchow, China	1919
*Stewart, Rev. J. L.	St. Andrew's College, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Sask., Canada	1916
Stockwell, R. K.	General Electric Co. of China, 23 Ningpo Road, Shanghai	1935
Stranack, M. W.	c/o Mustard & Co., Shanghai	1935
*Strehlneek, M. W.	260 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1935
Stursberg, W. A.		1919
*Suga, Capt. T.	Nissen Kisen Kaisha, Tokyo, Japan	1919
Summerfield, J. A.	Realty Investment Co., Shanghai	1935
Sun, Mrs. J. H.	20 Dah Hsia Villa, Chung Shan Road, Shanghai	1930
Sung, Prof. William Z. L.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1933
Swallow, R. W.	Nankuan, Kaifengfu, Honan	1933
Swan, Mrs. A. H.	397 S. Fraser Ave., Los Angeles, Calif., U.S.A.	1928
Swan, J. E.	Messrs. Swan, Culbertson & Fritz, Sassoon House, Shanghai	1934
Swann, R. N.	17 The Bund, Shanghai	1926
*Swenson, Rev. Herman	Salem Evangelical Free Church, Ku Yuan, Kansu	1931
Tachibana, M.	c/o Inspectorate General of Customs, Shanghai	1881
Tai, Dr. T. C.	Head Office, Bank of China, 50 Hankow Road, Shanghai	1935
Tan, Mrs. W. H.	Lane 608, 20 Yu Yuen Road, Shanghai	1935
T'ang Leang-li	Editor, People's Tribune, P.O. Box No. 2011, Shanghai	1933
Tarby, H.	c/o Butterfield & Swire, Shanghai	1931
Tarby, Mrs. H.	"	1931
Talbot, R. M.	Berkeley, Calif.	1915
*Taylor, C. H. Brewitt	Cathay, Earlsferry, Scotland	1885
Taylor, G. E.	Central Political Institute, Nanking	1935
Taylor, Hedley	Messrs. Reiss Massey & Co. Shanghai	1933
Tchang Si, Dr.	The Institute of Zoology, National Academy of Peiping, Peiping	1935
Tebbs, J. A.	Cathedral School, Shanghai	1935
Teesdale, J. H.	c/o Thatched House Club, London	1916
Telberg, V. G.	International Bookstore, 169 Chung Shan Road, Tsingtao	1935
Thackeray, Brigadier F. S., D.S.O., M.C.	Hongkong	1935
Thackeray, Mrs. F. S.	"	1935
Thellefsen, E. S.	Gt. Northern Telegraph Co., Shanghai	1935
Thomas, J. A.	North Street, White Plains N. Y., U.S.A.	1930
Thomas, J. A. T.	c/o Mustard & Co., Shanghai	1890

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Address	Name	Year of Election
Thomason, Miss Lillian	Shanghai University, Yangtszepoo, Shanghai	1933
Throop, Rev. M. H. S.T.D.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1912
Ting I-hsien	303 Canton Road, Shanghai	1902
Ting, K. T.	Commissioner of Customs, Hart Road, Shanghai	1935
Tipton, Rev. W. H.	Southern Baptist Missions, Room 701, 209 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai	1933
*Tochtermann, Karl	Schulstrasse 5, Bad Harzburg Bunderheim, Germany	1900
Toeg, I. A.	5 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1935
*Toeg, Mrs. S. E.	741 Weihaiwei Road, Shanghai	1935
Tolly, Lieut.	188 Avenue du Roi Albert, Shanghai	1935
Tomita, Dr. Gunji	Shanghai Science Institute, 320 Route Ghisi, Shanghai	1935
*Tong Pao-shu	Chief Commissioner, Purchasing Commission, Ministry of Communications, 255 Peking Road, (537 W. Wuchang Road), Shanghai	1935
*Torrance, Rev. Thos.	25 Warrender Park Road, Edinburgh, Scotland	1922
Touty, M. H.	H.M.H. Nemazee & Co., 190 Peking Road, Shanghai	1935
Trivett, Very Rev. Dean, M.A., D.D. .	The Deanery, Shanghai	1932
Tsao, Y. H. M.A., ED.D.	Shanghai Y.M.C.A. Secondary School, Szechuan Road, Shanghai	1935
Tsen, Dr. D. C.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1932
Tseng, T. K.	Commission for Readjustment of Domestic and Foreign Loans, 6 The Bund, Shanghai	1935
Tsu, Mrs. Lan-Tsung	11 Dah Hsia Villa, Chung Shan Road, Shanghai	1935
Tsu, Dr. P. N.	Church of Our Saviour, corner of Dixwell and Tien Dong Roads, S'hai	1935
Tsu, Dr. Y. Y.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1935
Tucker, G. E.	45 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1915
Tucker, Mrs. G. E.	45 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1915
Tung, Yuh Mou	The West Lake Museum, Hangchow	1935
Uchida, Naosaku	Tung Wen College, Shanghai	1933
Ungern-Sternberg, Baroness L. von University of Rangoon, Librarian . .	c/o Siemens (China) Co., Shanghai	1924
Unwin, F. S.	Rangoon, India	1934
Valk, M. H. Van der	The Angela, Victoria, B. C., Canada	1914
Van Corback, T. B.	Bureau Chinese Affairs, Batavia, Java	1934
Van Os, A. P.	Bridge House Hotel, Nanking	1913
Vanderburgh, R. M.	430 Route Cohen, Shanghai	1935
Vandervort, Charles T.	Realty Investment Co., 210 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1927
Vargas, Dr. Philip de	Menlo Junior College, Menlo Park, California, U.S.A.	1930
	Yenching University, Peiping	1933

Name	Address	Year of Election
Veryard, Robert K.	Y.M.C.A., Changsha	1917
*Vizeninovitch, Mrs. V.	251 Hungjao Road, Shanghai . . .	1914
*Vogel, Dr. Jur. Werner	Room 425, 133 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai	1930
*Voigt, M.	Sintoon Overseas Trading Co., Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1923
*Volpicelli, Comdr. Z.		1886
Wade, R. H. R.		1918
Wagstaff, W. W.	118 Great Western Road, Shanghai . .	1922
Walker, Mrs. M. P.	St. John's University, Shanghai . . .	1931
Walker, Miss R.	St. Mary's Hall, Shanghai	1929
*Walker, W. J. D.	Laboratory Sales Division, Corning Glass Works, Corning, New York . .	1930
Waller, A. J.	Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai . . .	1916
*Wang, Dr. C. T.	50 Route Amiral Courbet, Shanghai . .	1933
Wang, Mrs. T. C.	Lane 1854, 10 Sinza Road, Shanghai .	1935
Wang Chi-yung	Shanghai College of Arts, 135 Lin Yin Road, West Gate, Shanghai . . .	1935
Ward, H. Lipson	Platt & Co., 88 Peking Road, Shanghai .	1928
*Warner, Mrs. G. B.	Oregon Museum of Fine Arts, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, U.S.A.	1925
*Washbrook, H. G.	14 Princes Park Avenue, Golders Green, London, N.W. 11	1908
*Watson, P. T.	Fenchow Hospital, A. B. M., Fenchow, Shansi	1920
Way, W. H.	Jardine Engineering Corp., Shanghai . .	1931
Way, Mrs. W. H.	Jardine Engineering Corp., Shanghai . .	1931
Webster, Rey, James	Union Theological Seminary, Wuchang .	1935
Webb, Dr. H. W.	I Poh	1928
Welch, A. J.	J. A. Wattie & Co., 10 Canton Road, Shanghai	1933
Welch, Bishop Herbert	Room 615 Missions Bldg., Shanghai . .	1929
*Weng, Kochai C., B.A.	134 Bruce Road, Tientsin	1933
Wen Yuan-ning,	Editor, Tien Hsia Monthly, Shanghai . .	1935
Werner, E. T. C.	1 Ku'eichia Ch'ang, East City, Peiping .	1915
Westbrook, Dr. C. H., M.A., PH.D.	412 West College Street, Griffin, Georgia, U.S.A.	1930
Wheeler, W. R.	University of Nanking, Nanking . . .	1935
White, Rev. F. J., D.D.	Route 1, Upland, California, U.S.A. .	1933
White, Miss Laura M.	234 Cattage St., S. Portland, Me., U.S.A. .	1916
*White, Rt. Rev. Wm. C.	604 Jarvis St., Toronto, Canada . . .	1918
Whitgob, E. J.	Health Department, S.M.C., Shanghai .	1935
Whittemore, N. C.	136-1 Ren Chi Do, Seoul, Chosen .	1930
Whyte, Sir Frederick, K.C.S.I.	Athenaeum Club, Pall Mall, S. W. I., London	1930
Whyte, Lady	Athenaeum Club, Pall Mall, S. W. I., London	1930

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Name	Address	Year of Election
Wickes, Dr. Dean R.	629 North Carolina Avenue, S.E., Washington, D.C., U.S.A.	1924
Widler, Emile	1147 Bubbling Well Road, Apt. 1, Shanghai	1923
*Wilbur, Mrs. H. A.	American Board Mission, (Tehow) Tehsien, Shantung	1920
Wilder, Dr. Geo. D.	House No. 4, Lane 750 Hart Road, Shanghai	1924
*Wilhelm, P.	Messrs. Thomson & Co., 20 Canton Road, Shanghai	1924
Wilkinson, E. S.	6 St. Peters St., Newton Mumpfels, Swansea, Wales, Great Britain	1911
Williams, Capt. C. C.	C. M. Customs, Peiping	1918
*Williams, C. A. S.	Room 704, 209 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai	1919
Williams, Dr. J. T.	Wilson, D. A.	1925
Wilson, G. L., F.S.I.	China Imp. & Exp. Lumber Co., S'hai	1935
Winter, F. B.	Palmer & Turner, 17 Canton Rd., S'hai Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Shanghai S.M.C. Secretariat, Shanghai	1921
Winter, R. S.	National Central University, Nanking Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai	1930
Wissmann, Prof. Dr. von	Chinese Maritime Customs, Shanghai	1932
Wong, Y. W.	Editor, Oriental Affairs, Shanghai	1927
Woo, Yao-tchi	Chateau Millefleurs, Cadaujac, (Gironde), France	1935
Woodhead, H. G. W.	*Woodward, A. M. Tracey, F.R.G.S., F.R.N.S., F.R.P.S.L.	1935
*Wright, S. F.	Inspectorate General of Customs, 21 Hart Road, Shanghai	1921
Wu, Stephen	Min Hong Printing Co., 29-33 Boone Road, Shanghai	1935
Wu, Chenfu F.	Yenching University, Peiping	1935
*Wu, Mayor Te-chen	464 Avenue Haig, Shanghai	1935
*Wu, John C. H.	42 Jessfield Road, Shanghai	1930
*Wu Lien-teh, Dr.	National Quarantine Service, Room 418, Glen Bldg., Shanghai	1916
Yankotsky, George	Sei Shin, Chosen	1932
Yates, Smith	203 Rue Boissezon, Residence No. 4, Shanghai	1934
Yen, Teng-chien	7 Hsia I Fang, Foo Lung Chieh, Soochow	1934
Yeo, Yuson	Metropolitan Land Co., Ltd., 81 Jinkee Road, Shanghai	1935
*Yetts, Prof. W. Perceval, O.B.E., D.L.I.T.	4 Aubrey Road, Campden Hill, London, W. 8	1909
Young, C. E.	Hartzenbush Motors. Av. Foch, S'hai	1935
Young, Miss M. L.	Secondary School for Chinese Girls, 238 Medhurst Road, Shanghai	1935
Young, R. C.	Public Works Dept., S.M.C., Shanghai	1912
Young, S. C.	Lane 608, 43 Yu Yuen Road, Shanghai	1928

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Name	Address	Year of Election
Yui, O. K.	Lane 37, House 119, Brenan Road, Shanghai	1935
Zee Zaizhang	China Chemical Industries, 101 Sassoon Building, Shanghai	1935
*Zih Dzu Sing	Mercantile Bank of India, Shanghai	1932
*Zwemer, Rev. Samuel M., D.D.	The Theological Seminary, 48 Merser Street, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.	1917

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TOTALS:

CLASSIFIED AS:—

Honorary Members	14	Residing in Shanghai	494
Life Members	168	Residing elsewhere in China	143
Ordinary Members	670	Residing in other countries	193
		Address unknown	22
Total	<u>852</u>	Total	<u>852</u>

List 1964	722	Resignations	53
New Members	218	Deaths	16
		Wipe off	19

Total	<u>940</u>	Total	<u>88</u>
		940	
		88	
Present Membership	<u>852</u>		